

A
HISTORY
of the
BURGH AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS OF FIFE
from
THE REFORMATION TO 1872.



Note on sources and abbreviations.

The manuscript sources for the following account are:-

The Minutes of the Synod of Fife, (cited as "Synod"), in Assembly Library,
Tolbooth St. John's, Edinburgh.

The Minutes of the Presbyteries of Dunfermline, Cupar, and Kirkcaldy,
(cited as " --- Pres.") in Assembly Library.

Minutes of the Presbytery of St. Andrews, (cited as "St. Andrews Pres.") in
Holy Trinity Church, St. Andrews.

Minutes of the Dunfermline, Cupar, and Kirkcaldy Presbyteries of the Free
Church, (cited as " --- Free Pres.") in Assembly Library.

The Minutes of the Kirk Sessions of the various parishes in Fife, (cited as
" --- K.S."): about half of these are in the Assembly Library, the
remainder in the hands of either the Session Clerk or the Minister
of the parish.

Certain of the Kirk Session Minutes are bound up with the Parish Registers of
Births, Marriages, and Deaths, in the General Registry, Edinburgh.
(These are cited as " --- K.S. (in P.R.)")

The Parish Registers of the various parishes, (cited as " --- P.R.") in the
General Registry, Edinburgh.

The Heritors' Records of the various parishes (cited as " --- Her.") in
Old Register House, Edinburgh.

Minutes of the Town Councils of Burntisland, Cupar, Dysart, Kirkcaldy,
Pittenweem, (cited as " --- B.R.") held by the Town Clerks of the
Burghs.

The Town Council Minutes and Records of the Burghs of Dunfermline and
St. Andrews, (cited as " --- B.R.") in Old Register House, Edinburgh.

Minutes of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland -
in Assembly Library.

Records of the Cupar and Kirkcaldy Local Associations of the Educational
Institute of Scotland, in E.I.S. Library, Edinburgh.

Detailed references are given not under pages, but under dates -

e.g. "MS. Markinch Her. 29/3/1768".

Of the printed sources, the most commonly cited are referred to in the
footnotes by the following abbreviations:-

Annals	"Annals of Pittenweem", by D. Cook (Anstruther, 1867)
Burgh Schools Report	"The Burgh & Middle Class Schools of Scotland" - H.M.S.O. 1866.
Campbell	"Balmerino and its Abbey" by J. Campbell, (Edinburgh, 1867)
Common Good	Common Good Accounts of various burghs MS. in Register House, Edinburgh.
Conolly	"Fifiana" by M.F. Conolly.
Cunningham, Dysart	"The Story of Dysart" by A.S. Cunningham, (Dunfermline, 1913)

Extracts	"Extracts from the Kirk Session Records of Dunfermline, 1640-1689" ed. E.Henderson, (Edinburgh, 1865)
Fasti	"Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae" (2nd Edition) Vol.V
Grant	"The Burgh & Parochial Schools of Scotland" by J.Grant, (1876) (Volume 1 only published)
Jamie, Ballingry	"Old Church Life in Ballingry" by Rev. D.Jamie, (Kinross, 1890)
Kinghorn, Extracts	"Extracts from the Kirk Session Records of Kinghorn, 1581-1659" ed. by G.W.Ballingall, (Kirkcaldy, 1863)
Lamont	The Diary of John Lamont, (Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, 1810)
Macbean	"Burgh Records of Kirkcaldy" ed. by L.Macbean, (Kirkcaldy, 1908)
Melvill.	"The Diary of James Melvill" (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1829)
Muir, Cleanings	"Cleanings from the Records of Dysart" Rev. W.Muir, (Maitland Club)
N.S.A.	New Statistical Account.
O.S.A.	Old Statistical Account, (cited under various parishes)
R.P.C.	Register of the Privy Council, H.M.S.O.
Reg. St.Andrews	"The Register of St.Andrews Kirk Session" ed. by D.Hay Fleming, (Scot.Hist.Society)
Shearer	"The Burgh Records of Dunfermline" (Edinburgh 1952)
Stephen, History	"History of Inverkeithing & Rosyth" by William Stephen, M.A. (Aberdeen, 1921)
Stephen, Story	"The Story of Inverkeithing & Rosyth" by William Stephen, M.A. (Moray Press, 1938)
Stevenson, Presbytery Book	"The Presbytrie Book of Kirkcaldie" ed. by Rev.W.Stevenson, (Kirkcaldy, 1900)
Stevenson, Auchtertool	"The Kirk and Parish of Auchtertool" by Rev.W.Stevenson, (Kirkcaldy, 1909)
Webster, Carnock	"The History of Carnock", by Rev.J.M.Webster, (Blackwood)

It is unnecessary to give a list of the other works used, many of which are cited only once or twice. Full details are given in the footnotes.

From 1560 to the Restoration.

Before we begin our account of the schools and schoolmasters of Fife, we must consider, though briefly, the geography of the county. The educational system a community provides for itself is bent and shaped by the pressure of ideas - is indeed an expression, however imperfect, of the community's beliefs and aspirations - but it is no less determined, particularly when the aim is universal schooling, by the physical environment. This is true not only of states but also of provinces within the state, even where there is an attempt to create a uniform state system. The local men, applying the plan to their localities, inevitably adjust and diversify. We do not find the educational lay out of Clydeside reproduced in the crofting counties, even now, nor need we look for any close similarity in their educational histories.

The modern traveller who approaches Fife from the south, coming by the old route, the Queen's Ferry, is soon aware of the scars of industry. If he heads north east, he will journey by roads liable to subsidence, past coal bings, and past the sour fields and flooded hollows of an old mining district, through graceless villages to the dreary horrors of Cowdenbeath and Lochgelly. If he turns east, along the shores of the Firth of Forth, he will soon feel he is in one vast "built-up area". Yet even here, in the industrialised south of the county, it is not too difficult to escape the pitheads and the factories. Many little byroads mount and descend as they cross the rolling countryside, and swing by obviously fertile and carefully cultivated fields. And if the traveller enters the county from the north, he will find even stronger evidence of the importance of agriculture. There the farm houses are large and handsome, the coal bings

are absent, and factories - unless we include what were once obviously "steam-engine farms", "factories for making corn and meat" - are little in evidence.

The thriving industry and the busy agriculture of today do not in themselves tell us much of the past. But there is plentiful evidence of an earlier and widely diffused prosperity; most obvious perhaps along the coast of the East Neuk. Here, wherever there is a haven between the rocks, there is a picturesque village of old grey stone and red tiled roofs, popular with (and now dependent upon) holiday makers and artists, but speaking by its substantial, if often decaying, piers and sea walls, and solidly comfortable dwelling houses, of an important and profitable past. And here and elsewhere in the county are the imposing ruins of abbeys and priories - including Lindores, Balmerino, St. Andrews, Pittenweem, Inchcolm, Culross, and Dunfermline - too plentiful to have been built in a poor county. This evidence of a relatively comfortable past is strengthened by the fact that as early as 1300 there were, in the 515 square miles of Fife, 70 parish churches. (1) This hilly, but not mountainous, county - the average height above sea level of the land is some 300 feet, but the highest summit, the West Lomond, is a mere 1713 feet - obviously supported a relatively large population in pre-Reformation days. The relief of the county was such that there was a considerable area of cultivable land on the rounded slopes of the higher ground - the only useful land in the days before man-made drains, when valleys were marshes - not unduly difficult to work, and since the soil is generally good, yielding a satisfactory return.

The comparatively low rainfall of the county is another important factor - even more important two and three centuries ago

1. Scottish Historical Review, Vol. XXVI, p.9.

than now; for then a wet season (as the melancholy entries in Kirk Session records often show) meant disaster. The drier climate had its bearing on communications too. Streams were less often torrents and ways less often quagmires.

Communications in any case were not difficult, as compared with many parts of Scotland. Within the county boundaries there were no great rivers and no great mountain ranges to isolate place from place; and though the line of the Ochils might seem to bar easy entry to the County from the west, no part of Fife is far from the great highways of Forth and Tay. And the towns of the east and south-east coast look out to the Continent - look~~ing~~, that is to say, in what during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the important direction.

It is not difficult, basing our imaginings on the Fife of to-day, and with such aid as that given by Blaeu's Atlas and contemporary reports, to picture the land as it was four centuries ago. The mineral wealth was there, the easily mined coal of the Forth shore, and was being worked - had been worked indeed from the thirteenth century. (1) There was great wealth of fish - round the coast the herring still shoaled. (2) Inland the land was less tidy than to-day - as late as 1790 the old run rig system was still in process of giving way before enclosures. (3) There was much more water about, as we can see from Blaeu's map. And the roads, of course, were much poorer - poor enough to provide many a parent with an excuse for holding his children from the schools in the wet season in spite of the threatenings of Minister and Kirk Session. Nonetheless they were not bad

1. A.S.Cunningham - "Mining in the Kingdom of Fife" (1913) p.5
2. A.H.Miller, "Fife Historical & Pictorial", Vol.I, p.44. 3. O.S.A. But there was a lack of good building stone - Fife has been called "the county of broken lintels". This is a point to remember when we read, with monotonous regularity, the entry in Kirk Session and Presbytery Records "the school is ruinous".

enough to isolate the communities which by 1560 were so numerous as to make Fife a relatively populous county. There were, in addition to many villages and 'towns' (or clusters of houses round a farm) such inland burghs as Auchtermuchty, Falkland and Cupar - all Royal Burghs; and round its shores, "frae Culross (then in Perthshire) to the East Neuk, it's just like a great combined city, sae many royal boroughs yoked on end to end, like ropes of ingans" - busy little shipping towns all of them, growing in importance, and beyond the East Neuk, Ferry Port on Craig (Tayport) and Newburgh.

Two things are to be noticed here. Fife, even then, while predominantly an agricultural and fishing shire, had its industrial area. The parishes were organised therefore to take some account of this, so that the impact of the 1790-1830 revolution on the educational system was lessened. In the second place the general diffusion of wealth and population meant that there were none of those giant parishes such as one finds in Caithness or Sutherland. In Fife there were 59 or 60 parishes in 1600; of these the great majority were about 4 square miles in extent. The largest were Leuchars, 9 miles by 5, Saline, 7 miles by 6, Dunfermline, and Collessie (these last each 8 miles by 5). (1) As everyone knows, the school system in Scotland was organised, by the intention of the Reformers and the instruction (rather later) of the State, on a parochial basis. When, in due course, each parish got its school, in the vast majority of cases that school was not more than 3 miles from the most far-flung parishioner. Except when the weather was very bad, or when bridges were down, the recalcitrant parent who would not put his child to school had little excuse on the score of distance. Not only was the school of one's parish near (by anything but twentieth century standards): the school of the next parish might be quite near too. On at least one occasion when Dairsie had no schoolmaster, the children were sent over the

1. O.S.A. various parishes.

hill to the school of Kemback. That sort of thing could not have happened in the highland counties.

Such, in broad terms, was the Fife of the late sixteenth century. But when we look closer, we see that economically the county was moving, and moving fast. In the burghs at least, the years 1560 to 1640 were years of advance marked by five of them attaining Royal Burghhood. Between 1541 and 1588 Burntisland, Pittenweem, East Anstruther, Wester Anstruther, and Culross received their charters. (1) In 1578 Kilrenny became a free burgh of regality, and was regarded throughout the following century as a Royal Burgh. (2) In 1631 Newburgh was added to make a total of 18 Royal Burghs in the county. Economic progress was greatest in the towns on the Forth; between 1560 and 1590 their rise in importance relative to the other burghs of Scotland, is striking. (3) That progress, based on increasing trade, valuable fisheries, and an expanding coal mining industry on the shores of the Forth, (4) continued during the first 40 years of the next century. The elaborate churchyard memorials of Crail remind us of that quiet little town's former wealth and importance. And the inland burghs and parishes shared in this prosperity. It was "the goodnesse and fertility of the soyle and lands" wrote Thomas Tucker in 1655, that made this county "the best and richest of Scotland". (5)

But by the time Tucker was writing (as he himself testifies) the tide of prosperity had receded. The Wars of the Covenant and the occupation of the county by the forces of Commonwealth and Protectorate hit

1. Report on Fife and Kinross, Ancient Monuments Commission, H.M.S.O. 1933
2. A.H. Miller, "Fife, Pictorial & Historical", p.392. Intro, p. xl.
3. I.F. Grant, "Social & Economic Development of Scotland to 1603", p.353.
4. J.U. Nef, "Rise of the British Coal Industry" (Routledge, 1932) p.43-47.
5. Thomas Tucker, "Report upon the Settlement of Revenues of the Excise", (Bannatyne Club, 1856) pp. 30-32.

Fife as hard as any part of the country. In human lives the wars exacted a terrible toll. The Parish of Markinch lost 69 men at Kilsyth and Tippermuir; (1) Kirkcaldy lost 480, nearly half of them at Kilsyth; (2) and Pittenweem lost 49 married men in the same disastrous battle. (3) Next there was the heavy material loss: the expense of raising and equipping forces, (4) the plundering by the Cromwellian troops, (5) and the heavy taxation imposed by Commonwealth and Protectorate. (6) These blows fell on the whole county; for the coastal burghs there was in addition the destruction of a great part of their shipping. Pittenweem, which lost 13 vessels during the wars, was left with only two in 1656. (7) Kirkcaldy, which had 100 vessels in 1644, had only 12 in 1656. (8) One could continue with the melancholy catalogue. And it was against this sombre background that the Education Act of 1646 was introduced.

What the population was, and how it was distributed, are questions we can answer only in the roughest fashion. In Fife there were, according to Webster's calculation, some 83,000 people in 1755; this probably meant some 65,000 a hundred years before. If we assume that the distribution of population at the earlier date conformed to that which Webster found, rather more than a quarter of that 65,000 would be found within the bounds of the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy, and the remainder shared more or less equally by the Presbyteries of Dunfermline (with 9 parishes), Cupar (with 18 parishes) and St. Andrews (with 17 parishes). Some of the landward parishes included sizeable towns - for example Ceres, which in 1721 was "one of the most

1. MS. Markinch P.R., Vol.1, p.22-25.

2. A.H.Miller, op.cit. Vol.II, p.107.

3. D. Cook, "Annals of Pittenweem" (Anstruther, 1867) Preface, p.IV.

4. For example, Pittenweem spent £1,577 on sending a contingent to defend Burntisland (1639-40). Walter Wood, "East Neuk of Fife", (2nd Edition) (Edinburgh 1887) pp. 310, 314.

5. See the complaint of Anstruther Easter in 1662. R.P.C. 2nd Series, Vol.V, p. 48.

6. C.H.Firth, "Scotland and the Commonwealth" (S.H.S.) p.176.

numerous parishes in the province (of Cupar)" and had 1,700 examinable persons in that year. (1) Amongst the largest burghs in the county were Kirkcaldy, which, it has been reckoned, had a population of some 3,100 in 1616, (2) and Dunfermline, which contained about 1,600 people in 1600, and 2,000 in the year 1690. (And an additional 3,000 to landward in the latter year.) (3) Amongst the medium burghs was Pittenweem (in 1575 twelfth of all the Royal Burghs in taxable value) which, it has been calculated, had a population of about 1,000 in 1650. (4)

From these figures, rough and tentative as they are, we can form a reasonable working estimate of the number of teachers required to give every child an elementary education - about five years schooling. Accepting the figure of 65,000 for the total population of Fife in 1650, we shall not be far out if we assume a school population of not fewer than 6,500 and not more than 8,000 - i.e. not less than one-tenth and not more than one-eighth of the total population. (5) If every child remained at school from the age of five to the age of ten, a fairly compact parish of 600 could be served by one busy schoolmaster; a burgh of 1,000 inhabitants would require, if it attempted to give many of its children a Grammar School education, at least a schoolmaster and a schooldoctor. (6)

1. MS. Pres. Cupar, 13/4/1721. 2. So the author of the article on Kirkcaldy in the O.S.A. calculated, from an examination of the Parish Registers and Accounts of Collections at Church doors.
3. Ebenezer Henderson - "Annals of Dunfermline" (Glasgow, 1879)
4. D. Cook, op.cit. Preface, p. iv 5. This is on the assumption that birthrates and childhood mortality rates, as revealed in the O.S.A., did not differ greatly from those we would have found in 1650. See O.S.A. under Dunfermline, Auchtertool, Kinghorn, Creich, Cults, Dunbog, Falkland, Flisk, Moonzie. 6. Support for this calculation is given by the minister of Markinch who, in 1704, informed the Presbytery that six schoolmasters were needed in his parish.

This, then, was the setting in which the local authorities - heritors, Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Bishops, Town Councils - had to translate the requirements of Parliament or General Assembly into action. The earliest programme of the Reformers - that of the First Book of Discipline - demanded a school in every parish and a Grammar School in every considerable town; a programme so ambitious that the history of Scottish education for the next three hundred years is essentially the story of the series of attempts to give it reality. Fifty six years after the First Book of Discipline there was taken the first step to provide it with the state's legislative backing - the Act of the Privy Council of 1616. This act appointed a school to be in every parish, and commanded "All the bishoppis within this kingdom that they ... deale and travell with the parochinaris ... within thair saidis diocesis to condescend and agree upone some certaine solide and sure course how ... the ... Scoole may be enterteyned". (1) But if the State had taken the first step, it can hardly be said to have moved with a firm and decisive tread. No machinery was provided for the coercion of those indifferent or hostile heritors on whom was laid the burden of entertaining (i.e. paying for) the parish schools. "Deale and travell" as they might, the bishops (as the whole subsequent history of Scottish education shows) must have found it very hard to bring the heritors to agreement, for agreement meant paying up.

The Ratification of the Privy Council's Act by Parliament in 1633 shows some recognition of this: the Bishop was empowered to impose a tax for the maintenance of a school on every plough - with the consent of a majority of the heritors and parishioners. At last, after Episcopacy had

1. As we shall see, the Diocese of St. Andrews had already taken steps to set up schools without waiting for this Act.

been overthrown, and the General Assembly had petitioned for a school for every parish, came the Act of 1646, which, until the Restoration, was to be the law of the land. No consent of the majority about this. The heritors in every parish were to meet and stint themselves to provide a commodious house for the school, and a salary for the schoolmaster. It was an excellent Act; how the heritors of Fife observed it will be examined later.

The schools considered in these Acts were parish schools - the schools 'to landward' as the phrase went. But where the parish included a substantial town (i.e. a place of some 1,000 inhabitants) there was commonly no Parish School, supervised by the Kirk and maintained by the heritors. Its place was taken by the Burgh school, upheld by the Town Council (sometimes with assistance from Kirk Session and heritors) and subject to the Town Council's control. (1) In addition to the Grammar School in the burgh there was to be, by order of Parliament (1579) a "Sang" or Music School. We shall not meet many of these. Finally, outside the official system, at times frowned upon and at times encouraged by Kirk Session and Town Council, were the Adventure schools (to give them their later title). The Adventure schoolmasters or schoolmistresses were, with rare exceptions, entirely dependent on the fees paid by their pupils. At times they supplemented the work of the Public schoolmasters, as when they taught children too young to go to the Grammar school; and at times they competed with the Burgh or Parochial schoolmasters by drawing away children from their schools. As early as 1567 (and again in 1582) we find the Burgh schoolmaster

1. Two points should be noted here. Although the difference between (say) Cupar Burgh School and the Parish School of Forgan is clear, that between what we may call the Burgh School of Pittenweem and the Parish School of Markinch is not. The line drawn must be a somewhat arbitrary one. Secondly, burgh schools sometimes came down in the world - Culross, Crail, and Pittenweem schools are all examples.

of Crail complaining to his employers that "Sir" George King had "seducit the barnis and scoulers" from his school. (1) An adventure schoolmaster in Kirkcaldy was ordered to disband his school in 1587. (2) These are the only Adventure schools we meet in Fife before 1590 (which does not mean, of course, that there were not several others - by the nature of things we cannot expect them to leave much trace); thereafter there is abundant evidence of their importance in providing at least a smattering of education for those untouched by the Burgh and Parochial schools.

The educational estate which the Fife authorities inherited in 1560 was, for so rich a county, disappointingly poor. If, as is highly probable, the burghs were much better provided than the landward parishes, then there was much to be done. For of only five of Fife's many flourishing towns can we say with certainty that they had grammar schools in 1560. Three of them, it is true, were of respectable antiquity. The schools of St. Andrews are said to have been of note by 1120; (3) and just before the storm of the Reformation broke, the Archdeacon of St. Andrews was ordained to provide a master of the Grammar School. (4) Cupar, as befitted the county town, likewise had an ancient and notable school: in 1357 its Rector was a man of some importance. (5) Dunfermline, too, though not certainly schoolmastered by the poet Henryson (as tradition claims) had a firmly established school which had a line of schoolmasters going back to 1519 in virtually unbroken succession. (6) The Grammar School of Crail was endowed in 1542,

1. Erskine Beveridge - "Church Yard Memorials of Crail" (Edinburgh 1893) p.3. Sir George King may have been the Master of the Song School, if one still existed in Crail; it was said of him that "under the pretence of singing he teaches (children) to read and write in vulgar language". 2. Macbean, p. In 1596 a "woman school" was ordered "to learne no mens childrene fra this furth". Ibid, p.145. 3. Grant, p.3. 4. Ibid, p.21. 5. Ibid, p.11. also Peterkin, Book of the Universal Kirk, (Bannatyne Club) p.46. In 15 the schoolmaster of Cupar was to "reid and exhort in the Kirk of Coupar". 6. See Appendix, Dunfermline. For the earlier notices of the School see Webster, "Dunfermline Abbey", p.167

and may have been founded in 1525. (1) Culross had "a learned monk" who taught the school there by 1470; (2) that the Burgh School was established before 1560 is clear from the statement made in 1589 that there had been "in all tyme bygane" a Grammar school within the Abbey. (3) There were in addition sang schools in St. Andrews, (4) and in Crail, (5) before 1560. It is not unlikely that Cupar and Dunfermline had Sang Schools too by this date. Certainly Cupar had a Sang school by 1580 at the latest; (6) and if the "reidar" of Dunfermline, John Burn, was, as his successors in that office were, master of the Sang School, then Dunfermline had one by 1573. (7)

But if, in 1560, we can find only five burghs with grammar schools, by 1600 the position was greatly improved. In the bounds of St. Andrews Presbytery, Anstruther Wester (which had but recently become a Royal Burgh) had established a school before 1595; (8) and Pittenweem had established one by 1599. (9) In Cupar Presbytery the Burgh school of Auchtermuchty was in existence before 1596. (10) In Dunfermline Presbytery, the burgh of Inverkeithing, if it did not boast a regular Grammar School, had a reader, part of whose duty was "the lering of the bairnes", before 1583. (11)

1. In 1525 "Sir" William Myrton proposed to found two schools in Crail (a grammar school and a sang school); in 1542 "Sir" David Bowman granted "a croft containing $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres ..." to his cousin the preceptor of the Grammar School. Conolly, p. 136 & 142. 2. Coulton, "Scottish Abbeys & Social Life" (C.U.P. 1933) p. 61. 3. Register Secret Seal, lix, 116b. 4. Reg. St. Andrews, p. 39 and footnote p. 40. 5. Conolly, p. 136. 6. MS. Common Good, Cupar. 7. For Burn, see Shearer, p. 4. The size and importance of Dunfermline - ex-capital, abbey town and royal residence, makes its possession of a sang school before 1560 highly probable. 8. MS. Anstruther W. K.S. (in P.R.) 26/10/1595. (Quoted McCrie, "Andrew Melville", p. 472) 9. R.P.C. First Series Vol. IV, p. 614. 10. Register Gt. Seal, Vol. VI, charter 798. 11. Stephen, "History", p. 388. Adam Angill, the reader, had been reader since at least 1568, and Stephen suggests he had been schoolmaster from that time too.

Finally, in the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy were 4 burghs which had established (or re-established) schools in the years between 1560 and 1600. Burntisland had a Grammar School in 1596. (1) Dysart had one by 1579; (2) Kinghorn had one by 1575; (3) and Kirkcaldy had established a Grammar School in 1582. (4)

We should perhaps add Falkland to the list of towns that possessed a Grammar School before 1600. Seat of a Royal ~~palace~~, and a Royal Burgh from 1458, it certainly had the population to sustain one. In 1611 the Synod found there a school that was "weill interteined", and taught by a graduate. (5) In the absence of any unfavourable comment by the Visitors, we can safely assume that it was a Grammar School; and the phrase "weill interteined" suggests that it had been in existence for some years. If, for these reasons, we include Falkland in the roll of burghs with Grammar Schools, then we are left with only 3 Royal Burghs which did not have burgh schools in 1600. These three were:- tiny Earlsferry, which never had the population to sustain a grammar school; Kilrenny; and Easter Anstruther, which was soon to be supplied. ~~(K)~~

To have achieved this - to have established new schools, or even to have maintained the old ones - in the face of the many difficulties of the first 40 years after the Reformation, was a creditable performance on the part of Kirk and Burgh. In the first place educational endowments were being engulfed by the flood of monetary inflation; this must have affected some Fife schools - e.g. Crail - but probably not many. (6)

1. Report on Burgh & Middle Class Schools, (1866) p.95. 2. Muir, Gleanings, p.57. 3. MS. Common Good, Kinghorn. 4. Macbean, pp. 71,72. There may have been a Sang School in Kirkcaldy before 1582. See the contract given below, p. 14. It is possible that some of these burghs had Grammar Schools before 1560 - the dates given are those of first mention. But even so, to have maintained schools in the first 20 years after the Reformation was, as will be seen below, a real triumph. 5. MS. Synod Fife 9/8/1611. 6. Something will be said about endowments later (see APP II). But the total of 200 merks left by "Allane Coutts, sometyme chamerlane of the Abbacie", and "John Davidson servant to Abbot Robert Pitcairn" (actually the Commendator) may be mentioned here.

More serious was the shortage of suitable men for the schools. Only those who, in the words of the General Assembly's Act, "professed Christ's trew religion" were admissible to the office of teaching either public or private.(1) This must have reduced the number of teachers; for not all those who had held office before 1560, or who would have been prepared to enter shortly after that date, would conform as the schoolmaster of Dunfermline did; one imagines there were others, unrecorded, who took their stand with Nénman Winzet. And when the winnowing process was over, there were other, and more attractive, posts for those who were left. Until 1600 the Kirk was crying out for educated men for the ministry; and the need was not least in Fife. As late as 1583, to give but one example, one minister had to serve Kilrenny, East and West Anstruther, and Pittenweem. (2) The stickit ministers, who in later years were to staff so many schools, must have been hard to find.

In an attempt to overcome this obstacle, some burghs combined the posts of Reader and schoolmaster - Inverkeithing is an example. (3) Others - as for example Kirkcaldy, in 1582, and Crail, in 1566 - combined the posts of Minister and schoolmaster. (4) But obviously this was not as satisfactory an arrangement as having a full time schoolmaster.

Some burghs, of course - owing to their greater wealth, or their possession of an already well established school - were better able to overcome these difficulties than others. In the grammar schools of Cupar and Dunfermline there were, in addition to the schoolmasters, schooldoctors or

1. Peterkin, Book of the Universal Kirk (Bannatyne Club) p.26, see also p.16.
2. Fasti, under the parishes mentioned. 3. Stephen, History, p.388.
4. Macbean, pp. 71,72; and Erskine Beveridge, op.cit. p.31. The minister agreed to teach the Grammar School if he were required to preach but once a week and have a competent stipend, and if satisfactory arrangements could be come to with the former schoolmaster, David Buthill. This looks like an attempt to get rid of a survivor from Roman Catholic Scotland. Buthill, in fact, kept his school, and the minister evidently never had to take up the charge.

assistant teachers. (1) In all probability the Grammar School of St. Andrews employed a doctor also: as early as 1560 we meet a doctor of the Sang School there, and it is unlikely that the Grammar school was less well staffed. (2) St. Andrews could boast, too, that its schoolmaster in 1576 had been Mr. Patrick Auchinleck, one of the "maist leirit" schoolmasters of the kingdom who were commissioned by the Privy Council to report on a uniform Latin Grammar. (3) At the other end of the scale was Burntisland Grammar School; by 1613 it had disappeared, leaving the burgh with nothing better than "ane who teichis the bairnes to reid and wreitt". (4) Again, some of the burghs had proper school buildings: such was Dunfermline. (5) Others (for example Inverkeithing) were content (or perforce had to be content) to see the town children taught in the schoolmaster's house. (6)

But in spite of the obstacles, some of the schools that were founded in those difficult years made rapid progress. One of the most successful of the Fife Grammar schools - Kirkcaldy - was, as we have seen, established in 1582. Yet within six years the burgh had begun to build a school "on the comoun expensis", and had provided its schoolmaster with a proper salary. (7) The contract which was concluded in 1588 between the parish minister, Mr. David Spens, and the bailies, council, and community of Kirkcaldy reveals how humble the first school was. It laid down "that

1. MS. Common Good, Cupar; see Appendix - Dunfermline Doctors. According to Grant, p.490, Crail had a doctor in 1571. 2. Reg. St. Andrews, p.39.
3. R.P.C. 1st Series, 15/12/1575. 4. MS. Synod, 13/4/1613. 5. Shearer, p.13.
6. Stephen, History, p.400. 7. Macbean, pp. 117 & 120.

the said Mr David sall tak up and teche and grammar scoill be him selfe as principal, he to conduce upoun his chairges and sufficient qualifist persoun to be as Doctour under him, for quhome he sall anser, and for his panis and laubouris the said Mr David to haiff of everie tounis bairne iiii in the quarter, reservand his advantage off the cuntrie bairnis, always beginand thair quarter paiment at the entres And quhen the number of bairnis increasis so that Mr Davidis housse will nocht easilie contene thame, the tounes to find him any sufficient rowme housse meit for the purpoiss, and the bailies to interpone thair authoritie ordinar, quarterlie, for reddy paiment to be made to the said Mr David. Prowyding thar be na uther scoill teachit in this toun, bot sang onlie, quhilk sall be onlie the number of twelff bairnis". (1)

It will be noticed that the minister was given no salary for this extra duty - his stipend as minister and his income from school fees were, presumably, considered quite sufficient. (2) And as we shall see, for the next 300 years the fees which his pupils (or their parents) paid to the schoolmaster of burgh and parish school formed a very important part of his income, even where he had a salary. It is therefore not surprising that here the fees were to be paid in advance. (3) Nor is it surprising that the town should attempt to shield its schoolmaster from the damaging competition of adventure schoolmasters. Twice within a few years of this contract the magistrates and Town Council of Kirkcaldy ordered rival schools to be closed; (4) and how much competition from unofficial teachers (men or women) they were to permit was to be a matter for serious concern to the Councils of all the burghs for 200 years to come.

1. Macbean, pp.71,72. This contract did not run long: by 1585 the magistrates were endeavouring to find a new schoolmaster. (Ibid, p.104. 18/1/1584/5)
2. cf. with him Mr Thomas Kynneir, Minister of Grail in 1566, one of whose conditions for teaching the school there was "an honest stipend". Erskine Beveridge, op.cit. p.31. 3. P.T.O.

Further, it will be observed that though the Town Council fixed the fees for the children of the burgh - and this was to be the custom wherever there was a burgh school (1) - the schoolmaster was allowed to charge what he could get from the "cuntrie bairnis". Were these children who came in each day from outwith the burgh, or were they boarders - gentlemen's sons, possibly? In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was not uncommon for the gentry, and even the nobility, to send their sons from home to one of the Fife Burgh Schools. (2) In most cases these children were lodged, like Roswell of Balmuto's ward in 1589, not with the schoolmaster, but with "ane honest woman" in the town where they were "held and interteneyit". (3) The country bairns who were expected to resort to Mr. David Spens in Kirkealdy were probably boarders in that sense; but it is possible that he, like other schoolmasters later, took them into his own house.

But not all the children who attended the burgh schools were the sons (or daughters) of noblemen, gentlemen, or even solid burghers. The Kirk was determined that all children, no matter how lowly their parents, should have some years of schooling. Not all parents, however, could pay the fees - the 16/- to 20/- per annum that was usual in the later years of the sixteenth century; on the other hand, since the schoolmaster was so dependent on his fees, he could not be expected to teach for nothing. And so we find, again and again, that it is the Kirk Session that bears the

1. Examples are too numerous to mention - see below p. 56. But note that the Kirk Session might fix the fees the Doctor was to receive - e.g. in Culross. (MS. Culross K.S. 24/5/1653). If the Burgh School was for a time maintained wholly by the Kirk Session (i.e. ceased to be a Burgh School proper) the fees were fixed by the Session - e.g. MS. Pittenween K.S. 4/10/1646. 2. "Noblemen" at Dunfermline School, in 1685, Dunfermline Extracts 19/4/1685; gentlemen's sons from some distance, at Cupar School, in 1677, MS. B.R. Cupar 21/11/1677, (and also Ibid 11/11/1706); and at Crail School in 1736, W. Wood, "East Neuk of Fife", 2nd ed. p. 416. 3. R.P.C. 11/10/1589. See also Cupar B.R. 11/11/1706 "inhabitants who sustained benefit by buirding of gentlemen and other honest men's children".

expense of educating the "poor scholars", as they were generally called. "The Session thinks meet that all the yowth in the town be caused com to the schooll to be teached, and that sic as are puir shall be furnished upone the comone expenses; and gif any puir refus to com to schooll, help of sic thing as they neid and requir shall be refused to them" it was ordained in Anstruther Wester in 1595; and a few years later there is the entry:- "... anent the schooll, agreid with Henrie Cuninghame that the puir of the town shall be put to the (school) and sa many of them as has ingyne and he takes paines upon shall giv fyv sh in the quarter, quhilk the Session sall pay".(1) In St. Andrews (21st February, 1598) the Kirk Session ordained that the "pure bairnes" in the "hospitall" should be instructed, and that their teacher should have fifty two merks and 13/4d weekly, chose John Sourdye, merchant, for the job, and laid down the curriculum. (2)

We have very little direct information on the kind of buildings in which the school children, rich and poor alike, were instructed in those years. The simplest school of all was that adumbrated in the Kirkcaldy contract - a schoolmaster and some pupils in a room in an ordinary dwelling house; the type of school that Inverkeithing possessed. But the wealthier and prouder burghs tried to do better than that; and in the last 30 years of the sixteenth century we find a number of "real" schools (as we should say) joining those already in existence. Crail started to build one in 1576; (3) and Kirkcaldy one in 1587. (4) A year later Pittenweem converted the south half of the "Great House" of the Priory into a Grammar School and Tolbooth. (5) Old school buildings, too, were being repaired at this time; we hear of a slater's "labouris done to the schole"

1. MS. Anstruther W. K.S. (in P.R.) 26/10/1595 & 7/9/1600.

2. Reg. St. Andrews, pp. 880, 881. 3. MS. Accounts of the Common Good, Crail. (in Register House, Edinburgh.) 4. Macbean, p.117. 5. Conolly, p.214.

of Dunfermline in 1575. (1) But no plans or detailed accounts of the buildings, either new or old, have survived from that period; only such bare entries as "to ane messoun for bigging of the scole Avilij", and the like, have come down to us. But no doubt the schools built then differed little from the burgh schools built within 40 years of this; and what they were like will be considered later.

When we turn from the burghs to the two score landward parishes, and endeavour to discover how many of them had schools before 1600, we find that the position is much more obscure. That parochial schools (possibly a fair number) existed in the country as a whole immediately after the Reformation is to be inferred from the Article "proponit" to Parliament on 3rd December, 1567, "... that all scoles alsweill to burgh as land and colleges be reformat". (2) But there is no proof of their existence in Fife as early as this. Before 1600 only three parishes yield us names of schoolmasters:- Forgan and Leuchars in the Presbytery of St. Andrews, and Ceres in Cupar. (3) It is possible (if what happened later is any guide) that here and there schools were set up and decayed. But it is certain that all those factors which operated against the provision of schools in the burghs would act even more strongly in the landward parishes.

But if the position is obscure before 1600, a clearer picture begins to emerge in 1611, when five parishes in Fife were subjected to a Diocesan Visitation as part of the campaign for the provision of schools in "that part of the diocie of St Andrews benorth forth" (i.e. in the territory of the future syneds of Fife, Angus, and parts of Perth). A little later,

1. Shearer, D.B.R., p.13. 2. Act Parl. III, 37, 38. 3. See Appendix I under these places. Outwith the burghs, there are no Kirk Session Records from before 1600; and only St. Andrews Presbytery Records go back to the sixteenth century. We cannot therefore place much weight on the paucity of references to schools and schoolmasters.

two Fife burghs - Burntisland and Falkland - were also visited. (1)
Of the parishes visited, "Ferrie porten Craig" (later Tayport) had "no
schoolmaister for lack of moyen among the tounesmen but thai ar appointit
to have ane". (2) In Fergan the Visitors found that "the schoole is
interteined, and for the best provision of it, thair is ordained that ilk
pleuch in the paroch sall pay to the schoolmaister 13s 4d and ilke barne
of the parochie sall pay 6s 8d the q(uarter). Strangers that ar of ane
uther parochie sall pay xx or xxx sh. as the maister can procurit". (3)
In Abdie, in the north west corner of the county, the Visitors found that
"they have ane commune scole taught be Mr James Leslie scolmaster quho
past his cours of philosophie in St Salvators College in St Androis".
He was "payed as follows Be the toun of Newburgh xl libs be the minister
xx merks By my Lord of Lindores xx merks. It is ordained that ilk pleuch
of the parrochine sall pay xiiis iiijd yeirlie to the school according
to the commune ordor quhilk the gentil men & parochinars present promised
thankfullie to do ... " (4) In Kilmany there does not appear to have
been a school (the parish had not even a resident minister - "he could
not get a stipend") (5); and in Kennoway (6), if there was a schoolmaster,
the fact was not found worthy of mention. In all, then, five parishes
yield only two schooles; and one of those parishes (Abdie) had in its
bounds a substantial burgh.

The two burghs which were visited yielded only one Grammar
schoolmaster between them. Falkland had a school and a schoolmaster who

1. It is possible that other parishes & burghs were visited, but if so the
Diocesan Clerk did not think it worth mention. 2. MS. Syned Fife, 13/8/1611
3. MS. Ibid 14/8/1611. Note the last sentence, and cf. with the Kirkcaldy
contract (1582) p.10 above. 4. Ibid 2/9/1611. 5. Ibid 7/5/1611.
6. Ibid 20/8/1611.

was "approved" by all the brethren. (1) But the brethren were far from approving what they found in Burntisland. Although that burgh had had a Grammar School in 1602, it had decayed, as we have seen, and in spite of a visitation before 1611 (as we can deduce) when the Council was instructed to re-establish the school, nothing had been done. Once more the town was ordered to set up a Grammar School, (2) but even then the bailies and council were unwilling to move, and in 1614 it was decided that "My lord archbishop (was) to visite burntiland shortlie for taking order that ane gramer scole (might) be had". (3) It is interesting to note that six years later, no doubt as a result of this prompting, not only had Burntisland a schoolmaster, it had also a proper school building. (4)

Five years after the start of this round of visitations came, as has been mentioned, the Privy Council's Act of 1616. It is difficult to discover what effect this act had in Fife. When, ten years later, the King reviewed the progress that had been made in education, he expressed his dissatisfaction with the activities of the Bishops; the Act of 1616 had not been "putt in execution with such exact diligence as was requisite in a matter of such importance". (5) How Fife compared with the generality of counties we do not know. It is possible, however, that there the Bishop and Presbyteries were more active than their brethren elsewhere; certainly in 1619 the Presbytery of Cupar visited Ceres, started the parish for a school, and laid down the fees. (6) This visitation can hardly have

1. MS. Synod Fife, 9/8/1611. 2. Ibid 13th & 14th April, 1613. 3. Ibid 30/5/1613.
4. Burgh Schools Report, p.95. What was the reason for this outburst of Diocesan activity? The Privy Council Act of 1616 was five years away. McCrie (Andrew Melville, p.471) suggests it was the Act of Parliament of 1593 (Act. Parl. Scot. IV,16). 5. Maitland Miscellany (Edinburgh 1840) p.25.
6. In 1626 the Kirk Session re-enacted this Act of the Presbytery, to which it referred. MS. Ceres K.S. 25/6/1626.

been an isolated act; doubtless the Presbytery made a round of the parishes - the more important ones at least - and did what it could to force schools upon the reluctant heritors. And if the Presbytery of Cupar did this, why not the others?

As has been stated, the next national enactment in the sphere of education was the Act of 1633, which ratified the Privy Council's 1616 Act. Directly, its effect within Fife can be traced only in the bounds of the Kirkcaldy Presbytery. In 1636 the Archbishop of St. Andrews gave a Commission to the brethren of the Presbytery to visit the kirks for the purpose of planting schools, (1) and that year every parish in the Presbytery (with the exception of two, Auchtertool and Leslie, which were in the diocese of Dunkeld) was visited, and the heritors given their instructions.

"... Balingrie ... 2 Junii 1636 The brethren and all the heritors agreed & thinks it expedient that thair sal be a schole. The brethren ... thinks that the meanest provision that can be appoyntit for ane scholemaster thair is ane hundredth merks yeirlie, and thairfoir ordeanes and appoyntes ane hundredth merks yeirlie to be payit be the heritors of Balingrie the moderator and remanent brethren desyres the heritors to stent themselves ... betwixt this and the last of Junii." (2) Again, of the visitation of Markinch we read that the heritors offered £100 "willingly". The brethren, however, thought that 200 merks was "over litell" for the schoolmaster of an important parish, with 64 ploughs and 18 mills, and gave the heritors a week to think about it. (3) Sometimes, as in Kennoway, the heritors would make no offer. Then the Presbytery would fix a salary for the schoolmaster, again based on

1. Pres. Bk. Kirk. 5/5/1636. 2. Ibid 2/6/1636. 3. Ibid 11/8/1636.

the size and importance of the parish, and make arrangements for stenting the parishioners. (1) In this way a school was "settled" in every parish of the Presbytery.

In attempting to discover how much this activity on the part of the Presbytery accomplished, we must remember that although a school was first "settled" in 1636, it may have been in existence for some time before that. (2) For example Markinch, whose heritors offered such an inadequate salary for the schoolmaster in 1636, possessed a parish school, which was taught by a burgess of Kirkcaldy, eight years previously. (3) There was a school in Seconie by 1626, (4) and another in Auchtertool by 1631 (5) (though here the school had disappeared by 1640.). But when this has been taken into account, it is still clear that in this Presbytery the Act of 1633 was not ineffective. Of the nine landward parishes (including Auchtertool and Leslie, visited in 1640) where the Presbytery used their powers to settle schools, all but three had schools, "well maintained" in 1646; and it is possible that even those three did, at that time, have parochial schools with legal salaries for their schoolmasters. (6)

Dunfermline Presbytery too seems to have been fairly successful in the provision of parochial schools - though how much of that success was due to the Act of 1633 cannot be discovered. There were only six landward parishes in the bounds, and of these, three - Beath, Carnock and Torryburn -

1. Stevenson, Presbytrie Book, ~~25/11/1633~~ 10/8/1636. 2. Stevenson, in his introduction to the Pres. Book, says that before 1636 none of the parishes had a settled school. True, if he means provided with a salary according to the Act of 1633 - paid by the heritors. 3. Macbean, p.159.
4. MS. Seconie K.S. Title page & 14/8/1644. 5. Stevenson, Presbytrie Book, 25/11/1631. 6. The three were:- Ballingry, Kinglassie & Leslie.

were possessed of schools before 1643; a fourth - Aberdour - (which may have had a continuous line of schoolmasters from 1590) certainly had one before the Act of 1646, though part of his salary at least had to come from the box. (1) Since Dalgety had a school building which was being repaired in 1651, it is probable that it too had a schoolmaster before 1646. (2) There is no evidence either for or against a schoolmaster in the sixth parish, Saline. Finally, it is noteworthy that as early as 1644 Torryburn Kirk Session appointed a doctor to the parish school. (3)

In the Presbyteries of Cupar and St. Andrews it is to be feared that execution lagged far behind the intention of the legislators. Cupar, with a great number of lightly populated parishes to landward, was obviously a difficult Presbytery to plant with schools. Presumably there was a round of visitations by the brethren after 1633; but any action they took seems to have had inconsiderable effect. Three years after the passing of the much stiffer Act of 1646, the Presbytery was still finding it a struggle to plant schools in every parish. (4) Matters were little (if any) better in St. Andrews Presbytery. Only four of the landward parishes are known to have possessed parochial schools in 1639 - Elie, Kingsbarns, Kilconquhar and Largo. (5) A further three probably had schools; (6) and an eighth (Ferry Port on Craig), which had set up a school in obedience to the Synod's command in 1611, had lost it some time before 1644. (7) In all, these accounted for fewer than half the landward parishes in the Presbytery. (8)

1. See Appendix I under these parishes. For Aberdour salary from box, see MS. Aberdour K.S. 11/6/1650 (which refers to "the ed 50 marks paid to the schoolmaster before the Act"). 2. MS. Dalgety K.S. (in P.R.) 25/12/1651. 3. MS. Torryburn K.S. (in P.R.) 16/6/1644. 4. MS. Pres. Cupar 15/3/1649. 5. See Appendix I under these headings. 6. Forgan, Leuchars, Newburn. See Appendix I. 7. MS. Ferry K.S. 3/11/1644. 8. One burgh at least was visited in 1636 - Pittenweem - and the heritors ordered to provide £100 of salary. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 24/5/1710.

Taking the county as a whole, then, it is fairly clear that though the Act of 1633 achieved much in some Presbyteries, it did not produce the results that might have been expected. It must be remembered, however, that it had been in force for only six years when the First Bishops' War broke out; and in the last seven years of its pre-Restoration existence (1) the times were not propitious for educational advance. None the less the overthrow of Episcopacy produced as an immediate ~~rank~~ effect a new attack on the problem. An Act of the General Assembly which was held in Glasgow in November, 1638, instructed Synods and Presbyteries to take active measures to plant schools in all parishes which were still unprovided. And one of the first matters which came before the new Presbyterian Synod of Fife was this Act of the General Assembly. The Moderators of the four Presbyteries in the Province were asked what they had done to set up new schools. "The said Moderators answered that as yet they had not done exact diligence". (2) Six months later the Synod once more urged the Presbyteries to establish "a school at every parochie Kirk" and to visit those that were already planted. (3) But it was soon felt that the existing law was not sufficient, and in September 1640 ... "because the want of competent maintenance for schoolmasters is a great hindrance" (to the work of the Kirk) the Synod decided that Parliament should be asked to provide "means for the offices foresaid". (4) And the agitation was continued in 1644 and 1645. (5)

1. The Act of 1633 was, of course, the law in Education from the Restoration until 1696.

2. MS. Synod 3/4/1639. 3. Ibid 29/10/1639. 4. Ibid 6/10/1640.

5. Ibid 2/4/1644; 5/11/1644; 20/5/1645.

The experience of the Synod with the Heritors of Beath provides an example of the dilatory procedure which no doubt made the brethren anxious to have the law changed. In April 1640 they ordained the minister of Beath to take some course to settle a school there; in October he reported that nothing had been done "for want of means"; in October 1641 it was reported that the Presbytery of Dunfermline had recommended the matter to Parliament. Ibid 7/4/1640; 6/10/1640; 5/10/1641.

Once having obtained the desired Act of Parliament, the Synod followed it up with vigour (to start with, at any rate). Immediate instructions were sent out to the Presbyteries, urging its speedy fulfilment, and reports on their activities were demanded by the upper assembly. (1) "Anent the provision of schoollis", we read, "the presbitrie of dumfermlyne declaires that they are going on according to the act of parliament made theranent, and have found some success. They are recommended for that diligence, the rest of the presbitries are exhorted to the lyk diligence". (2)

The Synod realised that not only had it to ensure that schools were established; it had to ensure that those schools were used. And so a Committee of four was appointed to recommend measures whereby "parents may be pressed to put and hold their children to schoollis". (3) Their recommendations, which were approved by the Synod and became instructions to the Presbyteries, were :-

- "1) that ministeres in the doctrine (that is to say, in their preaching) presse frequentlie the duetie of parents to traine up their childrene at schoole.
- 2) that ministeres in the course of visiting families take up a compleit roll of childrene, above fyve and under ten yeares of age.
- 3) that parents frequentlie be exhorted in the course of visitations, to send children to schooles, upon their owne charges iff they be able, and whair they are not able to maintaine them, that the session provyde for the best remedie, and in caise of slacknes, that the parents of the one and the other conditiene be threatened with processes.
- 4) that masters of schooles be charged to give notice to the minister or session from tyme to tyme of the withdrawing of any children, put to schoole, befoir their proficiencie, and that under paine of censure as the session think fitt."

("Befoir their proficiencie" - that is, until they were able to read the Bible. (4))

1. MS. Synod 26/3/1646. 2. Ibid 5/4/1647. 3. Ibid
4. MS. Dalgety K.S. 19/10/1652.

"5) that ministeres doe frequentlie visit the schooles, and take tryall of the number of children put to schooles be according to the roll taken up, in visiting families and suchlyke take tryall of masteres diligence and paines upon the pore ones.

6) that masteres of families be exhorted to use meanes for learning their servants to reid." (1)

These instructions were, as far as one can discover, carried out by Ministers and Kirk Session. They were not all new, of course. Exhortation from the pulpit - on educational and other matters - was certainly not an innovation; the provision for poor scholars, as we have seen, ^{was} ~~had been~~ a responsibility the Kirk Sessions had accepted for fifty years at least; and parents who did not send their children to school had been subject to the discipline of the Kirk. (2) What was new, apparently, was the attempt to lay down in exact terms ("above fyve and under ten yeares") the ages of schooling; and the attempt to ensure that a roll of all children of school age was compiled. Whether in fact the parish ministers did complete these lists is not known; but, as we shall see, in many parishes (perhaps in all parishes, but the records are too scanty to permit us to say that) the elders gathered lists of children within their quarters and saw that they were put to school.

The recommendations were not repeated - did the Synod feel that they had been taken to heart and acted upon, or did they regard them as too ambitious? But the Synod continued to press the lower Assemblies to establish schools; and by 1649 it could be recorded that Dunfermline had already "planted" their parishes "except ane or tuo quhilk they intend god willing to plant at the next visitatioun", and that the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Kirkcaldy had already "done their diligence". But one part

of the county lagged behind; the Presbytery of Cupar had to be reminded of their duty to provide for schools "conform to the actis of the generall assemblie maid thairanant". (1)

How difficult the task was becomes clear when we examine the Presbytery and Session Records. The economic distress of the county at this time has been mentioned; and the coastal burghs (hit so hard that some were glad to have the assistance of the Kirk Box to pay their schoolmasters' salaries) (2) were not the only parts of the county to suffer. The immense sums taken in taxation during the Cromwellian occupation cannot have sweetened the heritors; it is not surprising that many of them fought stout delaying actions against the "stenters" whose task it was to see that they provided their fair share of the cost of education. In many parishes in Cupar minister and Kirk Session were no match for them. As a result the Presbytery decided, three years after the passage of the Act, that if sufficient schools were to be settled they would have to visit every congregation in the bounds. (3) Much lies behind the Presbytery's complaint that the Moonsie Session Book was filled up "almost all with the provision for the schole". (4)

In Kilmany the process of delay can be observed in classic perfection. In March 1647 the minister was urged to see that the legal salary was provided for the schoolmaster. A week later the heritors were told to meet and stent themselves, otherwise the Presbytery would choose "twelve men for doing it". In July the whole matter had to be referred to the General Assembly: the teinds of Kilmany were paid to St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews University; were such teinds, the assembly was asked, to bear equal

1. MS. Synod 25/9/1649. 2. e.g. Pittenweem (MS. Pres. St. Andrews 7/7/1658), Kirkcaldy (Stevenson, Presbytrie Book, 27/3/1650) & Burntisland (MS. Burntisland B.R. 16/11/1668 - "the schoolmaster had been in use to receive out of the session box £50 per annum and £50 from town"). 3. MS. Pres. Cupar 15/3/1649. 4. Ibid 20/7/1650.

burdens with teinds not paid to Colleges? Until the legal point was settled the heritors, of course, could not stent themselves. Six months later the decision came down - those teinds "could not be affected with any other burden whatsoever". On 31st January, 1650, after the Session had regretted that they wanted means for providing a school, the Presbytery decided on a visitation. On 25th April the heritors agreed that the school should be in Rathillet (in the parish), that the salary should be 100 merks, and that they could prove that the College should pay it. The Presbytery then referred the whole matter to Parliament. Eight years later, after another resolution by the Presbytery "to take the most speedy course", the Minister of Kilmany informed his brethren that the parish was not yet provided... At last, on the 27th January, 1659, the Presbytery was informed that the heritors had condescended to a maintenance for a school; but not all the heritors had signed. The minister was instructed to deal with those that had not subscribed. There the curtain falls, not to rise for forty years. It is with a slight feeling of disappointment that one discovers a schoolmaster in action then. (1)

Yet if this is an example of the delaying tactics of the Heritors, it is also evidence of the pertinacity of the Presbyteries. The twenty years from 1640 were a period of the most sustained and regular exercise of state power in matters educational - for of course the Church was in this field the executive branch of the government. And the effort was rewarded by solid achievement. By 1660 the result of that activity was (in terms of schoolmasters and salaries only):- in Dunfermline Presbytery, every parish was provided with a schoolmaster and "ane sufficient salary";

1. MS. Cupar Pres. - ref. under different dates.

in Kirkcaldy, /every parish but one (Auchterderran) was provided with a schoolmaster and a salary; in St. Andrews all but two had "a settled maintenance", and one of these, Dunino, certainly had a schoolmaster; in Cupar, it is probable that only two parishes were not firmly established - Kilmany and Cults. There had been a schoolmaster in Cults, but by 1660 the Kirk Session there was forced to ask for the Presbytery's help in settling the school. (1)

The great majority of these parishes possessed only one-teacher parochial schools. But in some parishes there were more children than one man could easily deal with; and here and there the Kirk Session, with or without the prompting of the Presbytery, recognised the need and appointed a school doctor. In 1640 the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy recommended the employment of a doctor to the parishioners of Wemyss (with a population, it is safe to assume, in excess of 2,000); (2) though it seems that here the advice of the Presbytery was ignored. Torryburn, another large parish - it provided work for four schoolmasters in 1653 - engaged a doctor in 1644. (3) And Aberdour, also populous, appointed a doctor in 1650 (and found some difficulty in paying him). (4)

The whole question of the parochial schoolmaster's living, qualifications, and so forth will be considered later. But it is worth pointing out that these schools which the Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions forced upon the heritors were not mere 'ragged schools' concerned only with giving a faint colouring of literacy to the countryside. From 1640 at the latest the candidates for schools, after they had been chosen by Minister

1. See Appendix I under parishes. 2. Stevenson, Presbytrie Book 29/5/1640. Wemyss, by Webster's computation, had a population of 3,000 in 1755.
3. MS. Torryburn K.S. (in P.R.) 16/6/1644; 30/10/1653.
4. MS. Aberdour K.S. 11/6/1650 & 3/12/1650.

and Kirk Session, by Minister and Heritors, (or, in the burghs, by the Town Council with or without the assistance of the local Kirk Session) had to be 'qualified' by the Presbytery. This was no mere formality, nor was it confined to the candidate's doctrine and behaviour, though testimonials on those matters were demanded; the candidate's 'grammar' was also tried. (1) And he did not always satisfy his examiners.

"These apoyntit to try Mr. Andre Walker his qualification and habilitie for teacheing the gramer, reported that in thair judgement he was unqualified", we read. (2) But in most cases the candidate passed, sometimes, we might say, with distinction:- "Mr James Symeson reported that he had tryed Mr Andre Malloch in his gramer and fand him meitt for the schole of Auchterderran or for a better schole". (3) Or he might be put on probation:- "Andrew Buttercesse is allowed to be scholemaster in Greich for one yeir so that he mak progress in his gramer and literature". (4)

Examination by the Presbytery was sometimes only one of the tests which the candidate for a school had to undergo. He might be examined in the parish by some or all of the Kirk Session. When Sir Thomas Hope, patron of the school, presented Mr George Bennett, the young man was "censured for his singinge and readinge in the Kirk" and "ordained to bring a copy of his wrytinge. The minister (was) ordained to tak tryale quhather he is founded in his religiouns and if he be abill to teache the quhol four partes of Grammer with the Authores usit in other Schooles, and to report". (5)

1. Stevenson, Presbytrie Book, 26/10/1642 & 9/11/1642. 2. Ibid 10/3/1642 & 17/3/1642. 3. Ibid 5/1/1648. 4. MS. Cupar Pres. 6/6/1650. Note the significant presence or absence of "Mr" before the candidates' names. 5. MS. Ceres K.S. (in P.R.) 28/3/1631 & 4/9/1631.

The appointment of the parish schoolmaster was always, it seems, a matter that concerned the Kirk Session. But it was not always their exclusive concern. Where the parish school was endowed - but this was unfortunately rare - the benefactor might retain in his own hands, and in the hands of his successors, the patronage of the school. This was the case in Ceres, after 1631. (1) In other parishes the principal heritor, if he were important and active, might act as the virtual patron of the school, even if there were no question of an endowment. Thus in 1657 the Wemyss Kirk Session accepted without demur the Earl of Wemyss's "recommendation" of "the young man David Ballingall" to be their schoolmaster. (2) On the other hand the Heritors might be ignored in making an appointment, though they had to find the money for the schoolmaster's salary. In Balmerino (1657), in Ferry Port-on-Craig (1656), and in Carnock (1646), Minister and Kirk Session alone were responsible for filling the vacant posts. (3)

How did the employers get in touch with possible candidates, in the absence of newspapers and employment agencies? No doubt on some occasions there was a prospective ~~candidate~~ schoolmaster on the doorstep. The retiring schoolmaster might have a son or a brother ready to take over; and although we can give no example of a parish finding such an easy solution to its staffing problem before 1660, - after 1660 there are numerous examples, in parish and burgh (4) - it is possible that in fact there were

1. MS. Ceres K.S. (in P.R.) 22/5/1631. 2. MS. Wemyss K.S. 1/12/1657.
3. MS. Balmerino K.S. 1/7/1657; MS. Ferry Port-on-Craig K.S. 14/3/1656; Webster, Carnock, p.160. So, probably, in Kettle in 1646 ("his chairges in cuning thither to aggrie with the Sessions for the Schoole") - MS. Kettle K.S. 31/5/1646. 4. e.g. in Cupar in 1660; in Balmerino in 1706; in Grail in 1713 and 1736; and in Kingsbarns in 1713. See Appendix under these parishes.

such appointments. Again, there might be a likely lad, a product of the local school, on whom heritors and Kirk Session already had their eyes. But, as far as one can tell, the employers usually found their candidates outside the parish. And some of these candidates came from what was in those days a considerable distance. How did the heritors of Newburgh get in touch with Mr Bousie, schoolmaster of Wemyss? How did Mr Andrew Bryan(d), schoolmaster of Dysart, know of the post (which he accepted) in Terryburn? (1) And there are cases, less than 20 years after the Restoration, of much greater moves - from Lochmaben to Wemyss and from Angus to Dunbog. (2) A heritor with estates in other parts of the country no doubt played his part - he would be in touch, often enough, with at least one young man who looked to him for the modest advancement that a school would afford. But probably the greatest part in bringing schoolmaster and employer together was played by the parish minister. To him was often assigned the task of "searching out for an able young man", as the Ferry Port-on-Craig Kirk Session put it. (3) The Balmerino and the Carneck Kirk Sessions were others that gave the minister this duty. (4) If the minister

1. Bousie moved in 1657; Bryan in 1660. See Appendix I, Newburgh and Terryburn.
2. Mr. Morum from Angus to Dunbog in 1669; Mr. Thomas Blair from Lochmaben to Wemyss in 1679. 3. MS. Ferry K.S. 7/4/1653. 4. In 1657 and 1647 respectively. Campbell, Balmerino, p.407; Webster, Carneck, p.160. cf. MS. Pittenweem K.S. (in P.R.) 7/4/1644 "the minister lykwys with the session are appointed to ... spear (sic) diligently for that effect" i.e. to find a schoolmaster.

had no one in mind, he could seek the assistance of his brethren in the Presbytery and Synod, and so draw on a large area.

An appointment made, the work of the school was carefully supervised. The seventeenth century equivalent of a descent by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools was the Presbyterial visitation. It was, of course, concerned with much more than the educational state of the parish, but at practically every Visitation the schoolmaster's life and work was reviewed. And this review, like the examination of the candidate for a post, was no formality. All who had complaints against the schoolmaster could turn out and expect a ready hearing. The Presbytery interviewed Minister, elders, and schoolmaster singly. The Minister was asked, among other things, if his elders saw that children were put to the school; if his schoolmaster "was careful to keep the school"; and the like. The elders in turn were asked to give their opinion of the schoolmaster's life and work. The subject of all these enquiries in his turn was asked if he kept his school well; what answers he had to any charges made against him; and the amount of his salary, and how regularly it was paid. (1) It is plain that ~~this~~ visitation could be a very painful occasion for the schoolmaster: "The Elders (of the burgh of Auchtermuchty) being enquired anent the qualifications and conversation of the scholemaster George Mencrieff answered that ... he was not fitt for his charge ... Nicol Maxwell (said) there came never a good scholler out of his schole. The rest of the elders said that he was doing on as he could, and that he attended sufficiently, and that he was sober in his life".(2)

1. Stevenson, Presbytrie Book, passim; MS. Pres. Cupar, Vol.1, passim. See also for generally fuller accounts of the same type of examination, the various Presbytery Books for 1700 to 1720. 2. MS. Pres. Cupar, 29/7/1658.

Clearly, those schoolmasters who came through the Visitation with reputation untarnished had reason to rejoice; and occasionally their rejoicing found expression in the Session Book. "No fault found ... in the master of the schoole (praised be God)". (1)

The Kirk Sessions were in a position to exercise an even closer control than the Presbyteries; and not only did they listen to "the neighbours' " complaints, they also visited his school and examined his pupils. Sometimes this visitation was by the whole Session, as in Kennoway, where "the Session haveing met in the schole did examine the schollers what proficieny they made in their reading and wroitting and what order of discipline the master keipet the minister and elders fande the master painefull and the schollers proficient". (2) Sometimes the school was visited by a Committee of the Session, as in Dalgety, where "those that were appoynted to visite the schoole mak thair report that the bairns are in a good way of proficiency". (3) Nor did Burgh schoolmasters escape from this; sometimes the Presbytery instructed the Session to conduct a Visitation of the school; (4) sometimes the Session visited without any prompting from a higher authority. In Pittenweem, for example, "Mr George Hamilton Minister and with him Walter Airthe Baylie James Richardsons William Steinstouns Jon Reithe elders" took "tryall and examinations of the youthe at schoole, of whose literator and catechisme the minister took notice". Thereafter the Minister declared to the Kirk Session that "he was weil satisfied with the qualification of the youthe", and the Session considered

1. MS. Ceres K.S. (in P.R.) 20/7/1626. 2. MS. Kennoway K.S. 17/2/1659.
3. MS. Dalgety K.S. (in P.R.) 12/12/1651. See also MS. Aberdour K.S. 20/4/1652 Webster, Carneck, p.160; & MS. Newburn K.S. (in P.R.) 7/12/1658.
4. Stevenson, Presbytrie Book, 23/6/1647.

in private the schoolmaster's conduct in his office. The relief he so clearly expressed by his exultant entry in the Session Minutes - "the schoolmaster was wonderfully approved by the whole session without any contradiction must have been shared by all his colleagues who emerged as successfully as he from this ordeal by examination. (1)

It was of course not enough to find a suitable schoolmaster and watch over his work. He needed somewhere to live and somewhere to teach. The parish church could be pressed into service for the second purpose - the minister of Auchterderran offered building material for a school "that the church might not any longer be made use as a school" (2) - but not for the first. By mid seventeenth century many of the parishes either had built schools or were considering building them. (3) In 1639 Kingsbarns Kirk Session paid 12/- (Scots) out of the box for a glass window to the school. (4) A little later we can watch the process of building in Ferry Port-on-Craig:-

18th September, 1656.

Advanced out of the box for two days working in bigging the schole... 18/-

9th October,

Advanced to Henry Corfit for working at the schole... 31/6

Advanced to Andrew Paterson for digging of trees to the schole... 20/-

to David Barclay for carting of feals to it 9/-

23rd October

Advanced to John Kay for timber to the schole 40/-

6th November

Advanced for a tree to be a rigging to ye schole 48/-

14th November

Advanced to Henry Corfit for working at the schole... 3 lib.

Advanced to David Barclay 28/-

4th December

Advanced to Thomas Husband for Iron Work to the schole... 4 lib 8/

1. MS. Pittenweem K.S. (in P.R.) 16/4/1650. cf. the Ceres schoolmaster's entry above.
2. On 5/4/1668. A.M. Houston, "Auchterderran, Fife" (Paisley, 1924) p. 269
3. The Session Records are not consistent in their use of the terms school and schoolhouse; I shall use the first for the building in which the children were taught, the second for the schoolmaster's dwelling.
4. MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 31/3/1639.

5th March, 1657

Given to Thomas Husband for iron work to the schoole	thirty five shillings and eight deniers
Given to the workmen for tuo dayes work	36/-
Given for drink to them	6/- (1)

Three years later there are further payments for work and mails. (2)

The mention of "feals" (i.e. turfs or divots to be used for the roof of the school) serves to remind us that many of these parish schools were of the meanest description. The first school in Auchterderran, for example, was "a theakit biggin holding about 30 scholars". (3) "Divots to the school" is a common enough entry in the records. (4) And the frequency with which repairs became necessary (even when we have made allowance for the poor quality of the building stone that was available) indicates that the workmanship was often poor. (5) But not all the parish schools were tumble down shacks. Even Auchterderran graduated to "Sclaites upon the roof ... of the school" in 1669; (6) and when Balmerino school was repaired in 1658, the Session ordered that it should be provided with "good lightsome windows" and "seats biged of stone and mortar round about the syde wall and givell walls of the school and space wherein the schoolmaster was to learn his schoolers". (7)

That many obstacles had to be overcome, and that a Kirk Session might have to exercise considerable patience when it committed itself to building, is well illustrated by the history of Aberdour school. In April

1. MS. Ferry K.S. sub anno. 2. Ibid. 15/12/1659. 3. A.M.Houston, 1671 op.cit. p.266. 4. e.g. MS. Dairsie K.S. 17/10/1652; MS. Monimail K.S. 6/10/1652. 5. By 1669 the Ferry School was obviously in ruins - on 23/2/1668 the minister reported he had made use of a tree belonging to it; on 29/11/1669 the beadle got another. For some time thereafter the Session paid housemeal. MS. Ferry K.S. 16/5/1675. 6. A.M.Houston, op.cit. p.269. 7. Campbell, p. 409.

1650, the erection of a school building was mooted, and two or three days later a number of the 'honest men' of the parish met and declared that they were most willing - but they would have to meet again, with the heritors, before anything was done. (1) Two years later the Session rented a house for the schoolmaster at £20. Two years after that, the lime for the building was lying about, and one of the parishioners tried to borrow some of it - a request which the Kirk Session turned down; let him go elsewhere for his lime, this was excellent old lime, not easily replaced. But a month later it was reported that he had broken up the lime and taken the stones. In 1656, since the school had not yet been built, the Session approved the schoolmaster's taking a house to dwell in. When in 1666 the Session reviewed this unsatisfactory tale, they resolved to delay no longer. Even then it was not until 1671 that they entered into possession of their school. (2)

Just as in the burghs the Town Council would grant 'chamber meall' where there was no schoolhouse, so in the absence of a house specially built as a dwelling for the schoolmaster, it was common in the period 1640 to 1660 (and was to be common well into the next century) for the Session to pay the schoolmaster's 'housemeall'. At least one Kirk Session on one occasion actually chose the house (or part of the house) which the master was to occupy. "The Minister (and two elders) according to the appointment of the Session did take Robert Sibbalds laigh chamber to the schoolmaster to dwell in and to have the use of the best of those beds within the said chamber to ly in not to learn the children their and the said Robert Sibbald promised to keep the said chamber watter tight

1. MS. Aberdour K.S. 31/4/1650 & 2/5/1650. 2. Ibid 26/7/1652; 19/3/1654; 18/4/1654; 8/1/1656; 9/9/1666; 1/12/1672.

yeirlie to the schoolmaster for the quhilk doeing the Session is to pay to him yeirlie 8 lib at yuile". (1)

The Session's duties did not end when they had seen that a school was "settled", and a schoolroom and schoolhouse provided. They had to see that the schools were used, and that their schoolmasters were protected from competition. State, Synod, and Presbytery might insist that all children should be educated: it was the minister and his Kirk Session who had to see that this was done. And that children should be put to his school was a matter of vital concern (unless indeed he had other more profitable occupations) to the schoolmaster too; for a large part of his living came from his school fees. So from parish after parish - from Aberdour and Kilrenny, from Scoonie and Wemyss⁽²⁾ his angry or his despairing cry went up, that children were not being put to his school, and the Kirk Session listened sympathetically, and acted. "The minister and elders did ordain that all bairnes having past seven yeires of age having breaches and short cloathes shall come to the publick school of Wemyss at the Kirk and that under the paine of fyve pounds scottis". (3) And boys and girls alike were to be put to school - "bairnes elsweill female as male", as the Scoonie Session phrased it, (4) though this was not the

1. A figure of 28 to 40 was common in the period 1640 to 1660 - e.g. MS. Aberdour K.S. Nov. 1659; MS. Newburgh K.S. 12/11/1654 (40-15-4d); but MS. Ceres K.S. 30/9/1632 (29); and in Markinch only 26 in period 1630-1640, MS. Markinch K.S. (Disbursements). 2. MS. Aberdour K.S. 21/1/1659; MS. Kilrenny K.S. 10/1/1654; MS. Scoonie K.S. 23/2/1641; MS. Wemyss K.S. 13/5/1647. See also MS. Torryburn K.S. 16/10/1653. 3. MS. Wemyss K.S. 13/5/1647. cf. MS. Pittenweem K.S. 15/5/1649 - "no bairne .. that has gotten short cloathes, or is come to the age of six yeires sall be putt to any schoole .. but to ye Gramer school"; and Ceres 13/3/1626 & 27/10/1635 - "The parents who did not send their children to the parish school to pay alsweill as they that puts them to it". 4. MS. Scoonie K.S. 23/1/1645 - cf. MS. Dalgety K.S. 19/10/1652 - "promised to put his child to the schoole and to keip her at it ..."

invariable rule in the county. But the action of the Session did not stop - could not stop, if it were to be effective - at resolutions made in the Session House. In many parishes (perhaps in all) the elder was given the task of perambulating his quarter - that portion of the parish under his special care - and seeing to it that all the Session's orders were obeyed. (1) He would, of course, have an intimate knowledge of the families in his quarter, and could tell easily enough who were, and who were not, 'entered to the school'. But his duties might go beyond seeing that children were enrolled at the school; he sometimes acted as an unpaid attendance officer. Provided by the schoolmaster with a list of absentees, he was ordered "to cause send againe to the school any that has been absent". (2) Those parents who did not heed his hints were summoned before the Session; and this was generally (but not always) sufficient to bring a promise of better behaviour in the future. (3) Even then, it required constant vigilance on the part of the Session to ensure that these promises were fulfilled. We read of parent who had agreed under pressure to send their children to the school being summoned months later and "posed why they held their bairnes from the school: they "told some bad excuses, whairof the Sessione was not well pleased". (4) The Kirk's censure, a fine, and even being debarred from receiving "anie benefits of the church" might follow, if they continued obstinate. (5)

1. e.g. MS. Newburgh K.S. 27/11/1653; MS. Ferry K.S. 10/11/1653; MS. Aberdour K.S. 20/4/1652; MS. Wemyss K.S. 21/3/1652. cf. P.T.Hall, "The Kirk of Cleish (1938) p.88 "... the elders to take notice of all the children that were in their quarters and take up their names ...". 2. MS. Dalgety K.S. (in P.R.) 7/1/1652; so in Torryburn - MS. Torryburn K.S. (in P.R.) 12/10/1651, 17/10/1 and M.S. Aberdour K.S. 27/1/1650, 3/2/1650. 3. MS. Dalgety K.S. 19/10/1653; MS. Torryburn K.S. 9/10/1653; MS. Aberdour K.S. 3/2/1650, 24/2/1650. 4. MS. Aberdour K.S. 22/6/1650. 5. MS. Aberdour K.S. 9/1/1653. The fine wa 20/- Ibid 20/1/1650. Five parents were fined on one day. Ibid 24/2/1650. In Wemyss (MS. K.S. 19/3/1648) three parents were fined 20/- each.

We cannot be sure how far the various Kirk Sessions, in their endeavours to see that all children were given some kind of education, observed the school leaving age of ten years that the Synod had envisaged in its recommendations. But at least one Kirk Session tried to make the school leaving age sixteen. In Pittenweem the elders "thought fitt that the office goe through the toune and take up ane inventar of the whole maill children of the burgh betwixt eight and sixteen yeirs of age, and that report thereof be maid to the Session with all diligence and that those that are able to pay for their bairnes be marked with P, and that those that are not with I.P." (1) And at least one Kirk Session insisted that a certain standard of literacy should be achieved by children before their parents were permitted to remove them from the school. In Dalgety it was laid down that "befor young ones be taken away from schoole the Session may be informed off their proficiency"; and that proficiency, as has been mentioned, was ability to read the Bible. (2)

These efforts on the part of Kirk Sessions to have children put to - and held at - schools were linked with the Sessions' efforts to protect the parish schoolmaster. For it was not sufficient that parents should send their children to a school; save in exceptional circumstances, they had to send them to the public school of their own parish. There was, for example, a parent in Scoonie who insisted on sending his children over the parish boundary, to the anger of the parochial schoolmaster. It took him nearly a year to establish his right to the monopoly of teaching in the parish: but finally he was vindicated by the Presbytery of Kirkealdy, to whom the case was carried. The stubborn parent was rebuked for his contumacy, ordered to put his children to the parish school, and warned that if he did not, he would have

to "pay up quarter payments quarterlie as if the bairne (sic) remained still at schole". (1)

The main threat to the parish schoolmaster's monopoly, however, came from within, and not from without, the parish - from the Adventure teachers. It might have been thought that, with the creation of a fairly complete official system of education, there was little room for the men and women who bought or rented a house (or a room) and tried to make a living in competition with the parochial schoolmasters. But where they could attract the patronage of parents of schoolchildren by being cheaper, or nearer at hand, or better teachers than the burgh or parochial schoolmasters, there they were to be found; and wherever they were serious competitors, they drew upon themselves the resentment of their official rivals, and often the active intervention of the Kirk Session. Yet they persisted, and by the nineteenth century about half of the schoolchildren in Fife were taught in their schools.

Two of the reasons given for the existence of Adventure schools - their relative cheapness and their more convenient situation in a large parish - are obvious enough. The third, their superiority in teaching, is not so obvious. It might be thought that with the care taken in choosing and supervising the parochial schoolmaster, his rivals could scarcely challenge him in that field. But in spite of all that Presbytery and Kirk Sessions could do, it is clear that many of the parish schoolmasters were unsatisfactory. That schoolmaster of Scoonie who brought an unappreciative parent before the Presbytery had been instructed by the Presbytery "to wait better upon his school". (2) In 1657 an indignant

1. Stevenson, Presbytrie Book, 4/8/1640; 13/8/1640; 20/8/1640; 25/2/1641.
2. Ibid. 4/6/1640.

mother in Kilrenny complained that her son "had not got a lesson for a month". (1) Even in the burghs we find some of the masters taking a very light hearted attitude to their duties. The schoolmaster of Auchtermuchty was a "notar", and he admitted that this withdrew him somewhat from his charge; but, claimed he, "his wyffe did supply his absence being able to teach bairnes as well as himself". This did not prevent his claiming that he was harmed by the existence of a "woman's school" in the town. (2)

The object of the Kirk Sessions, as we have seen, was to prevent any competition which "tends to the prejudice of the publick school". (3) But this object, of course, permitted considerable variation in their behaviour towards the "intenders, both men and women" (to use a Kilrenny schoolmaster's phrase). (4) How they acted was no doubt largely determined by the attitude of their parish schoolmasters to their unofficial colleagues; and while often there were complaints, sometimes (as for example in Torryburn) (5) a number of adventure schools could exist in a parish without any protest from the parish schoolmaster. And there were other reasons, as we shall see, why the Kirk Sessions should not prohibit all adventure schools. So we find that sometimes they were hostile to the 'intenders', sometimes tolerant, and sometimes actually friendly towards them.

Amongst the Kirk Sessions which forbade all resort to the Adventure Schools were Kilrenny, Newburgh, and Wemyss. In Kilrenny "the Sessione considering how that, therow the helpe of god, thay have gott

1. MS. Kilrenny K.S. (in P.R.) 27/1/1657. She was rebuked by the Session for her "temerity and rashness" (Ibid 17/2/1657); but two years later the Session advised the master "to wait better upon his school". Ibid 1/2/1659.

2. MS. Cupar Pres. 22/3/1649. 3. MS. Wemyss K.S. 30/1/1653.

4. MS. Kilrenny K.S. 10/1/1654. 5. MS. Torryburn K.S. 23/10/1653 & 30/10/1653

a schoole established ... and planted with a schoolmaster of whom none can justly complaine; (1) and finding him greatly prejudged by others undertaking to teach barnes within the parish, especially Robert Rough, late schoolmaster in the parish ... doe ... ordaine that ... Robert Rough nor any other quhat sumever shal undertake to teach any of the children without a tollerance from the Session". (2) (And no tolerance was, in fact, granted.) And a few years later the Session again took action; when their schoolmaster complained that "thair came not a boy out of the whole town of Sillerdykes (Cellardyke) to the School ... but does (contrare to the acts of the session) send them to intenders, both men and women, that have no call to teach", they ordered parents to take their children from these unofficial schools. (3) In Newburgh, in 1653, Agnes Graham was "desired to forbear from teaching any lasses in tyme coming". (4) (It was taken for granted that the lads were already with the parish schoolmaster.) And in 1653 the Wemyss Kirk Session "ordained all other schooles in the parish to be restrained which tends to the prejudice of the publick schooll and the former act to be extended and put in executione". (5)

Kirk Sessions which tolerated Adventure Schools were those of Aberdour, Markinch, Torryburn, and even Wemyss, which we have just seen in process of putting down the parochial schoolmaster's rivals. In this parish "the indwellers of the Coaltoone did supplicat the sessions to give tollerance and leave to David Fullous to teache the schoole in the said coaltoone provyding alwayes that he teache onlie suche as are not able to come to the comon schooll of the parish and such that can not yett come for labour". (6) The request

1. He was suspended for fornication before the year was out.
2. MS. Kilrenny K.S. (in P.R.) 27/5/1649. 3. Ibid 10/1/1654.
4. MS. Newburgh K.S. 4/12/1653. 5. MS. Wemyss K.S. 30/1/1653.
6. Ibid 4/7/1647.

was granted; and it is possible that here toleration passed into active support; for later that year there was a payment of ten merks by the Session to a David Tullous - a payment which may well have been for teaching poor scholars. (1) In Torryburn, the adventure schoolmasters (there were at least three) had a semi-official status. In 1653 certain of the elders visited them, directed the schoolmasters to "instruct the bairnes in knowledge and good manners", and reported on their examination to the Session. (2) On the other hand, in Aberdour and Markinch the tolerance granted to the "Woman's Schools" in these parishes was much more limited. The adventure schoolmistresses were permitted to teach girls, but strictly forbidden to teach boys over the age of six or seven years. The penalty for transgressing this rule, in Aberdour if not elsewhere, was the closing of the adventure school. (3)

It is easy to understand why certain Kirk Sessions were so tolerant of Adventure schools. Aberdour, Markinch, and Torryburn were all large parishes, with well established parish schools; in none of these was there any shortage of boys to teach; in many other parishes the schoolmaster would need every child he could force into his school if he were to make a reasonable living; and therefore even the lasses had to be sent to the parish school.

Finally, there were the cases where landward Kirk Sessions smiled on the Adventure Schools. We have seen how in Wemyss there was probably a payment to the "intender" for poor scholars. In 1664, if not

1. MS. Wemyss K.S. 5/11/1647. On 18/2/1666 the Kirk Session gave the annual rent of 500 merks to "him who teaches the children in Wester Weones".
2. MS. Torryburn K.S. (in P.R.) 23/10/ 1653; 30/10/1653. Note the numbers:- "the bairnes were indifferent well conveyed, to the number of above 100". 3. MS. Aberdour K.S. 15/1/1661.

earlier, the Kingsbarns Kirk Session was making payments to two adventure teachers for poor scholars; and there is no hint in the records that this was a new policy. (1) There is no suggestion here, however, that the Kirk Session took the initiative in setting up adventure schools. But that was done by the Ferry Port-on-Craig Session. They found it convenient, as they put it, to establish a "woman school in the town" and "appointed that Margaret Watson a woman of good report fit to teach children should take it up. (2) This was in December, 1657, four months after the parish schoolmaster, disheartened by his unavailing efforts to obtain prompt and fuller payment of his salary, had thrown up his post. (3)

Wherever there were adventure schools, the Kirk claimed the right to inspect them, though whether this right was widely exercised is not certain; the action of the Torryburn Kirk Session may have been exceptional. But if poor teaching and indifferent progress by the children subjected to it might escape the censure of the Kirk, immoral behaviour by the adventure teacher could not be passed over. "Agnes Henderson by reason of her frequent scandalls", declared the Session of Ferry Port-on-Craig, was "judged unfitt to teach children"; and two of the elders were appointed to go to those who had children with her ... and admonish them to take their children from her". (4)

In the burghs, where we found a few adventure schoolmasters before 1590, and where there were many more after that date, the "intender" occupied a somewhat different position from that of his fellows to landward. In the relatively highly populated towns it was easier for an unofficial school or two to exist without seriously damaging the burgh school with its one or two teachers. Such competition as there was, however, could be injurious and from an early period it drew indignant protests from the

1. MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 20/9/1664. 2. MS. Ferry K.S. 20/12/1657.
3. Ibid 2/8/1657. 4. Ibid 12/4/1657.

injured burgh schoolmasters. Sometimes he would seem to have had very good grounds for complaint. In 1580, for instance, Mr. John Buthill, Master of the Burgh School of Crail, described the wrongs he suffered at the hands of Sir George Kinge, and the children he taught. Not only had Kinge "seduced" certain of Buthill's scholars; Kinge's "pretended scholars" had been guilty of casting stones at the Grammar School and "dymging the bairns to the great effusion of their blood". (1) In 1590 the burgh schoolmaster of Dysart asked for redress against an adventure schoolmaster in Dysart who "by colour and subterfuge" had injured him by setting up a school in Mitchelston, and attracting to it some of the children of the burgh. (2) In 1596 the schoolmaster of Kirkcaldy asked for protection against the other schools in the town. (3) In 1641 the Grammar Schoolmaster of Dunfermline declared that "he was haviellie damnifiet and preiudgit in his functions and calling ... by sundrie persones within (the burgh) wha ... undertakis upon thame to teache and instruct the youthe and specallie maill children to wreate and reid". (4) And in the burghs of Burntisland (in 1635), Dysart (in 1649 and 1655), and Pittenweem (in 1649) there were also bitter complaints against the adventure teachers. (5)

The earliest of these appeals to Town Council or Kirk Session were against the teaching of "bairns" in adventure schools; but in the later appeals the emphasis is on the taking away of boys from the Grammar school; and while the action taken by the Town Councils in 1590 and 1596 was to order the closing of the unofficial schools, in the other cases the

1. Grant, Burgh Schools, p.130; Erskine Beveridge "Churchyard Memorials of Crail", p.32. 2. Grant, Burgh Schools, p.130. 3. Macbean, p.145. 4. Shearer, D.B.R. p.244. 5. J. Blyth - "Burntisland - Its Early History & People", (Kirkcaldy, 1948) p.178; MS. Dysart D.R. 13/8/1649 & 4/2/1655; MS. Pittenweem K.S. (in P.R.) 15/5/1649.

Councils laid down only that "maill children that are able to travell to the comon schools and have learned the single catechism" (the formula in Dunfermline in 1641) (1) or that have "gotten short cleathes, or is come to the age of six yeares" (the formula in Pittenweem in 1649) (2) should resort to the Burgh schools; but the adventure schools were not closed. Provided that all boys above a certain age - an age which varied from burgh to burgh, and from one period to another in the same burgh: it was eight years in Dysart in 1647, but five years in Dysart in 1655 (3) - or above a certain standard of scholastic attainment, were sent to the Grammar School, the Town Councils were prepared to countenance the existence of adventure schools in their burghs.

Here and there Magistrates or Kirk Sessions went further, and actively encouraged the adventure teachers. In 1608 Dunfermline Town Council granted John Matheson, who had come to teach the art of writing to the bairns of the town, "an chalmer furnished with burdis for wrytting and with bedroom for easing of himself". (4) In 1656 the Burntisland Town Council granted a free house to a schoolmistress. (5) Less surprising, perhaps, was the assistance that Kirk Sessions gave to adventure teachers in the burghs: after all, they were rarely burdened with the upkeep of the burgh schools, and no doubt were less sensitive to the hurt the burgh schoolmaster might suffer from his unofficial rivals. Culross Kirk Session in 1653 and 1654 paid the fees of poor scholars who were attending "woman schools". (6) The Dunfermline Kirk Session went further than this,

1. Shearer, D.B.R. p.244. 2. MS. Pittenweem K.S. (in P.R.) 15/5/1649. As the entry on 30/11/1652 makes clear, this refers to boys.
3. MS. Dysart B.R. 13/9/1647 & 4/2/1655. 4. Shearer, pp.45,50.
5. Blyth, op.cit. p.181. 6. MS. Culross K.S. 11/10/1653 & 2/5/1654. The Culross K.S. for a time paid 20 merks to the schoolmaster of Kincardine, Ibid 13/3/1649 and 5/7/1653 - when payment ceased.

and actually took the initiative in setting up adventure schools.

Dunfermline, of course, was a very large parish by Fife standards, and as early as 1607 we meet an "Instructor of the youth at Legattis brigg" who supplied part of the educational needs of an outlying area. (1)

But more were needed, and in 1647 the Kirk Session "considering the great ignorance of children and youthe of this parochie, especially of the poorest sort, ... thot fit that schools be set up in the several quarters of the landwart of this parochie, especially in those parts that are remotest, and stand most in need there off, and that men or women teachers be sought and provyded thereto". (2) Within a few years the burgh schoolmaster was complaining that the decaying condition of the Grammar School was due among other things to the existence of "many schooles in landward". (3)

The Town Council could do little about this - their writ did not run beyond the burgh boundaries - but at least they could forbid the townsfolk to send their children outwith the burgh, or discharge all schoolmasters and mistresses from teaching boys in the burgh without "speciall warrand". (4)

In St. Andrews it was the Presbytery which took the initiative in encouraging the setting up of other schools. St. Andrews too was a large parish (ten miles long by four miles wide); and in 1649 the brethren tried to persuade the Heritors to establish schools in the landward parts. (5) What aid, if any, the Heritors afforded is not known; but ten years later the Kirk Session licensed various women to teach in Strathkiness and Kincapple, (6) and paid the fees of poor scholars at their schools. (7)

1. Shearer, D.B.R. p.24. 2. E. Henderson, "Annals of Dunfermline" (Glasgow 1879) 1647. 3. Henderson - "Extracts", 11/3/1656. 4. Shearer, D.B.R. p.42. (This in 1607) & p.291, 14/12/1668. 5. MS. Pres. St. Andrews 8/8/1649. 6. MS. St. Andrews K.S. (in P.R.) 10/11/1659 & 15/12/1659, (and see 11/4/1661). 7. Ibid 25/7/1661.

We may wonder what success attended the efforts of Town Councils and Kirk Session to curb the activities of the adventure teachers in the burghs. That the task was a difficult one is clear; again and again we find the same body reimposing its bans and restrictions on the adventurers' freedom to teach whom they would. In at least one burgh, in spite of considerable effort, the attempt met little success. In Pittenweem in 1649 the schoolmaster attributed the decay of the school "... partly throw the women's schools", and, as has been mentioned, the Session ordered all children of Grammar School age to be put to the Grammar School. (1) A year later it became necessary for the Session to enact that "those that hes thair bairnes at women's schooles be delt with for putting thair bairnes to the gramer schoole, or else give resonable cause in the contraire". The parents were summoned to meet the ministers, bailies, and councillors and, we assume, suitably exhorted. (2) Yet, in spite of all that the Minister and his helpers could do, the small number of children attending the Grammar School was regretfully reported to the Session six months later; (3) and two years later the minister was still trying to persuade the teachers of the women schools to dismiss the male children they taught, and still being put off with promises that the Session's Act would be obeyed "at Candelmas quhen the bairnes quarters were expired, that wer at thair schooles". (4)

1. MS. Pittenweem K.S. (in P.R.) 15/5/1649. 2. Ibid 14/5/1650.
3. Ibid 19/11/1650. 4. Ibid 30/11/1652.

To complete our story of the Fife schools in this first period (i.e. to 1660) we must now turn to the burgh schools, and see what developments took place between 1600 and 1660. And at the outset we are met by a problem of classification. In dealing with education before 1600 it was convenient to label all the official schools which existed in the burghs as Burgh Schools, even in the absence of any evidence that the school so called was maintained from the Common Good of the burgh. But for the remainder of this account we shall reserve the term "Burgh School" for those schools which were wholly or mainly paid for, and had their masters chosen, by the Town Council. At first the distinction is of little educational significance; and indeed at all times there were parochial schools which under another classification would be (and have been) ranked as 'secondary schools', and Burgh Schools which were little better than 'elementary schools'. But the question of control over the school (linked proverbially with the question of financial support) - whether by Kirk or Town Council - was to be important in the future; and increasingly, too, the categories 'Burgh School' (as we have defined it) and Parochial School (meaning provided by the Heritors) were broadly to correspond with the categories Grammar School and English School - terms themselves roughly synonymous with 'Secondary School' and 'Elementary School'. But having accepted this basis of classification, we must be prepared to meet schools which at one period were burgh schools and at another parochial schools; but this need not cause us much difficulty.

Three of the schools in the burghs we can class as parochial schools without much question. As early as 1611, as we saw, Newburgh Town Council paid something towards the salary of the schoolmaster of Abdie (in

which parish Newburgh then was).(1) But the appointments of the school master were made by the Kirk Session. (2) Kilrenny school was likewise governed by the Kirk Session, or the Kirk Session and Heritors. (3) It is probable that by 1650 Auchtermuchty school, too, was entirely under the control of the Kirk Session, whatever the position may have been earlier - later, however, bailies, heritors, and Kirk Session were all concerned with the appointment of a schoolmaster. (4)

There are considerable gaps in the records of all these schools, but it is highly probable that after 1611 (if not earlier) neither Auchtermuchty nor Newburgh was without a schoolmaster for any considerable length of time - longer, that is, than was normal when new appointments were being made. In Auchtermuchty the far from satisfactory Mr. Carswell, whose "wife could teach as well as he", drew the salary from 1611 to 1649 (if not later), and the school was in operation, though the names of its schoolmasters are lost, till 1659. Newburgh School was served by one schoolmaster from 1611 to 1622; he then became the parish minister. Who succeeded him we do not know; but in 1652, when the records resume, the school was evidently flourishing, and thereafter was always supplied with a master. Kilrenny obtained its parish school in 1647, and was probably taught by the one master from 1649 to 1659. (5)

1. Newburgh, erected into a Royal Burgh in 1457, had its charter renewed in 1631 (Municipal Corporations Report, Local Reports, Part II, (H.M.S.O.) p.262.) Out of the one parish of Abdie, two parishes, Abdie & Newburgh, were created. 2. MS. Newburgh K.S. 3/5/1657 "Mr Andre Tailzeseir .. did demit .. desiring the Session to provide themselves of a schoolmaster" (Quoted Laing, Newburgh, p.239) Ibid 21/5/1673 - Session & Heritors received Mr James Smart to be schoolmaster etc. 3. MS. Kilrenny K.S. 10/10/1649 & 1/2/1659. 4. MS. Auchtermuchty K.S. 21/10/1649 & 22/12/1651; also 2/8/1702 - "the Heritors had elected" a schoolmaster; & 13/2/1727 - Call subscribed by most of the principal heritors, magistrates, & Town Council of the burgh. 5. For names of schoolmasters, and their periods of service, see Appendix.



Pittenweem school - which, as we noted, had been provided with a grammar school and a school building before 1600 - had best be regarded, for part of this period at least, as a parochial school. (1) It is probable that at no time - except for the usual intervals between demission and appointment (2) - was the school closed for want of a master from 1600 to 1660. And from 1642, if not earlier, there was a doctor too. But it was the Kirk Session which appointed the schoolmaster after 1642, and paid his and the doctor's salaries. (3) Even in 1663, when it was the bailies and minister who approved the appointment, it was the Session penalties and seabox which provided the salary. (4)

There remain thirteen schools of varying importance and stability, but all entitled to be ranked as Burgh Schools. One of these, Anstruther Easter Grammar School, was a newcomer to the list - it was in existence by 1624, and attractive enough to draw to its service an ex-schoolmaster of Crail; but by 1657 it had, apparently, declined somewhat, and was reported to have "no settled maintenance". (5) And the Burntisland school, after its collapse at the beginning of the century, (6) had been restored by 1620, provided with a proper school building by the Town Council, and was entering upon a period of prosperity. As to the other eleven schools, we know most about those in Cupar and Dunfermline,

1. Grant considers it a burgh school throughout the 17th & 18th centuries. There are objections to this even in the second half of the 17th century, though not as strong as those against it from 1642 to 1663. We have, of course, drawn on the Pittenweem records for illustrations of the adventure schools in burghs. 2. In 1646 the Session took steps to avoid even these gaps by ruling that a quarter's notice had to be given by - and to - schoolmaster and doctor. MS. Pittenweem K.S. (in P.R.) 9/6/1646. 3. Ibid 7/4/1644; 9/6/1644; & MS. Pittenweem K.S. 3/5/1653 & 10/6/1684 (referring to an appointment in 29/11/1657). For salaries 21/8/1642 to 10/5/1660 passim. 4. D.Cook - Annals of Pittenweem, 13/4/1663. 5. MS. St.Andrews Presbytery 15/7/1657. 6. See above, p.20

and they will be treated at greater length later in this section. But the group of burgh schools of which we are given most glimpses (thanks to Presbyterial visitations) are those in the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy. There were four important schools in this part of the county - Burntisland, Dysart, Kinghorn and Kirkcaldy. In 1660 Burntisland school was the best paid and presumably largest of the four. The buildings which had been erected in 1620 included schoolhouses for schoolmaster and schooldoctor - an uncommon provision. It is highly probable that the school was served by both schoolmaster and doctor for the whole of the period 1620 to 1660; and this, in conjunction with the aid given to adventure schoolmistresses, indicates a relatively high interest in the education of the burgh on the part of the Town Council, in strong contrast to the attitude of their predecessors in the first decade of the century. Perfect harmony did not always prevail between the two teachers; and the complaint by one master that his doctor went from house to house playing cards till 12 p.m. gives an interesting hint of the standard of propriety expected of "instructors of the youth". (1) Although the offices of doctor and schoolmaster were apparently at pleasure (as is indicated by the ceremony, instituted in 1620, of handing over the keys of school and schoolhouses every year), (2) there were few changes of schoolmaster: the master who was appointed in 1635 remained in his post until 1669, (3) and with his doctor was highly approved by the Presbytery in 1640 and 1647. (4) After 1620 it seems to have been customary for the Kirk Session to provide part of the Salary - the Common

1. The Town Council advised them to patch up the quarrel, shake hands and drink together - Burgh Schools Report, p.95. 2. Burgh Schools Report, p.95. 3. See Appendix, Burntisland. 4. Stevenson, Presbytrie Book, 19/3/1640; 23/6/1647.

Good of the Burgh providing the other, and usually larger, share. In 1620 the Session gave 50 merks, the Burgh 50; in 1633 the Burgh's contribution had doubled, to make the salary 150 merks. (1) When the Presbytery visited the Burgh in 1636, however, they regarded this as quite insufficient, and fixed the salary at 300 merks, of which 200 were to be paid by the Town and 100 by the heritors. (2) But as late as 1647 the heritors had taken no steps "for the advancement of the school". (3) And if the schoolmaster ever received his 300 merks (£200) it was not for long: in 1664 and for some years thereafter he was paid £100, and that not always promptly (4) - a figure which, although the highest in the Presbytery, reveals the wide gap between what the Kirk considered to be a suitable salary and what the Councillors were prepared to concede.

The Dysart Burgh School, unlike that in Burntisland, never seems to have declined to a mere establishment for teaching the bairns to read and write, but in other respects the schools were not unlike. In 1600 the Dysart Council sent a bailie and the minister to St. Andrews to engage a "qualified teacher" at a salary of 100 merks. (5) From then until 1660 it is probable that the school was always supplied

1. Common Good, and Blyth, "Burntisland - Early History and People" (Kirkcaldy, 1948) p.179. 2. Stevenson, Presbytrie Book, 14/7/1636. 3. Ibid 23/6/1647. 4. Common Good, Burntisland, and MS. Burntisland B.R. 16/11/1668. The Common Good entry (in 1664) shows him receiving £100 from that source alone, but in 1668 it is stated that he was wont to receive £50 from the town and £50 from the Session. The heritors are not mentioned. 5. Grant, p.236 and p.458. See also A.S.Cunningham, "Dysart Past and Present" (Leven, 1912) p.54.

with a schoolmaster. Until 1630, too, the masters seem to have had comparatively long periods of service in the burgh - one taught from before 1612 until 1625; (1) but after 1640 the school tended to lose its masters at rapid intervals, the longest stay being four years, and the shortest eleven months. (2) One left to become "Master of Humanity" in St. Leonards College (University of St. Andrews), (3) one was dismissed for striking "of James Scott to the effusion of his blood", (4) one left because of differences with the neighbours, (5) and one left to become a minister in Shetland. (6) Until a short time before 1640 the school employed a doctor too, (7) but then the magistrates evidently decided that this was an unnecessary expense, and had to be prodded twice by the Presbytery before they appointed another. (8)

As in Burntisland, the salaries the schoolmasters drew were far below the 300 marks which the Presbytery thought fitting. (9) In 1628 £30 was paid from the Common Good of the burgh, in 1634 £50, and in 1646 £80. (10) In April 1650 the Town Council agreed to pay £200, (11) but whether in fact they ever did pay it is doubtful; the schoolmaster who was engaged in November of that year had to be content with £30 - and that included the interest on two small endowments which had been left to the school. (12)

1. Assuming that the Mr. Allan Lawmonth who was a witness to baptisms at various dates to 6/4/1625 (see Parish Register, Dysart) was the Mr. Allan Lawmonth, Schoolmaster. 2. For details, see Appendix, Dysart. 3. MS. Dysart B.R. 11/11/1650. 4. Ibid 28/7/1658. 5. Ibid 20/10/1657. 6. Ibid 8/6/1660. 7. One of them died in 1640 and left goods worth £686-12/4d. Testaments, Vol.9, John Gow. 8. Stevensen, Presbytrie Book, 27/2/1640 & 26/6/1641. 9. Ibid 9/6/1636. 10. Common Good, Dysart, & MS. Dysart B.R. 29/5/1646. 11. MS. Dysart B.R. 29/4/1650. 12. Ibid. 11/11/1650.

Two further points are of interest in the history of this school. It is probable that a schoolhouse was built between 1646 and 1661: housemail was paid in 1628 and 1648, but not thereafter, and in 1661 we hear for the first time of a "key to the school door". (1) Secondly, in this burgh we find a successful attempt by the parents to have the school fees reduced; in 1648 they petitioned the Town Council, and the charges were changed from 16s per quarter to "thretteine schillings four pennyes (viz 9 schillings to the master and 4s 4d to the doctor) By and attour the doctor's dyet and Interteinment of four schillings ilk day for the same per vices". (2)

Kinghorn and Kirkcaldy schools need not detain us long. The work of the first was rarely interrupted by change of schoolmaster. Mr. Thomas Biggar was reader and schoolmaster before 1607, and died "while registrating the proceedings of the session" in February 1640; his successor, who was appointed fourteen months later (it was just as well few new appointments had to be made), remained in office until 1672. (3) Doctors were employed for part of the time, certainly from 1628 to 1633, and again from 1640, for a space; the appointment in 1640 was at the insistence of the Presbytery. More than half of the schoolmaster's salary - but probably none of the doctor's - was paid by the Town Council, but it is possible that the Kirk Session had a considerable, if not the main, say in the appointments. The schoolmaster's salary was £93-6/8d per annum from 1620 to 1640, and (in theory) £103-6/8d from 1641 to 1660, and this for acting as reader - which in this case meant session clerk - and schoolmaster. (4)

1. MS. Dysart B.R. 4/2/1661. 2. Ibid 3/11/1648. 3. Appendix, Kinghorn.
4. Common Good, Kinghorn, and "Extracts from the Minutes of the Kirk Session of Kinghorn" (Kirkcaldy, 1863) pp. 25,40.

Here too, in 1636, the Presbytery fixed a salary of 300 merks - "little enough for the yearlie maintenance of ane schoolmaister in Kingorne", as they put it - which they appointed to be paid half by the town and half by the heritors; (1) and here, as elsewhere, it was reported after this settling of a salary, that there was "lack of provision for a scholemaster". (2)

Kirkcaldy was no more generous to its schoolmasters. In 1636 the Presbytery found there was no "certain or constant maintenance for ane schole". (3) Here too they appointed a salary of 300 merks, 200 to be paid by the town and 100 by the heritors - which drew from the heritors a demand to have a voice in choosing the schoolmaster. (4) In 1650, when the Presbytry revisited the burgh, the salaries of both doctor and schoolmaster were paid from the box; (5) and in 1664 the salary from the Common Good was a mere £48 per annum. (6) On the other hand the burgh - in 1660 or thereabouts, if not earlier - made the rather unusual provision of a dwelling house for the school doctor. (7) And, in spite of the low salary, one schoolmaster remained in Kirkcaldy for over 30 years. It may be, of course, that no other burgh would have him, although the elders gave him a "good testimonie" in 1649; (8) for in 1636 he was admonished to be more diligent, (9) and in 1640 was "compleaned upon that he was verie negligent in his office and unwaiting and desyred (by the Session) to be admonished to be more cairful and to wait on better and come sooner to the schole in the morning and to be more gentle in his correcting of the bairnes". (10)

1. Stevenson, Presbytrie Book, 5/7/1636.
2. Ibid 18/5/1642.
3. Ibid 23/6/1636.
4. Ibid 23/6/1636.
5. Ibid 2/10/1650.
6. Common Good, Kirkcaldy.
7. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 5/2/1666.
8. Stevenson, Presbytrie Book, 10/10/1649.
9. Ibid 23/6/1636.
10. Ibid 13/2/1640.

On the occasion of this schoolmaster's appointment, it is interesting to note, the Town Council demonstrated that they, and not the Kirk, intended to be recognised as the undoubted patrons of the Burgh School - the first time since the Reformation, as far as is known, that this claim was asserted by a Fife Burgh. In 1630 two candidates presented themselves before the Presbytery to be tried for the school; but the bailies declared that they would "reserve their choise of the men to themselves". (1) This stand on the part of the Magistrates did not, of course, affect the Presbytery's right to veto their appointment on the grounds of insufficiency, but it did indicate conflicts to come.

The three burgh schools in the Presbytery of Dunfermline were Culross, Dunfermline and Inverkeithing. It is to be presumed that the Presbytery concerned itself with these, and attempted to raise the salaries... (which nowhere approached the 300 merks insisted upon by Kirkcaldy Presbytery), in the years immediately after 1633. But if so, no record of its activity has survived. The Presbytery's investigations in the second great burst of activity, after 1646, reveal very little of what was going on in the burghs in those years. But Culross school, if it had to be content with a school in the vaults of the Abbey, was evidently flourishing. It has been endowed with Crown grants of the vicarage and small tithes of the benefice in 1589 - a gift which was confirmed in 1603, and ratified by Parliament in 1633, (2) and which apparently was worth £40 in 1647. (3) It is rather surprising, in view of this, and of the remarkable prosperity of the burgh in the first half of the seventeenth century, that a salary of only £100 was

1. Stevenson, Presbytrie Book 30/12/1630. 2. Registrum Secreti Sigilli, Vol. lix, folio 116b; Acts Parl. Scotland, Vol.V, p.90.
3. MS. Culross K.S. 22/6/1647.

paid from 1647; (1) but that in 1653 the minister had to appeal to "the gentlemen of the parish" to contribute towards the stipend of schoolmaster and doctor was probably not unconnected with the severe losses the burgh ... sustained in the Civil Wars. Nevertheless we read no accounts of the decay of the school in those years; there was a large population, (2) and the fees collected must have been substantial. Whatever the reason, the school was staffed by a line of graduates; and from 1620 three schoolmasters remained in the service of the burgh some thirteen years apiece. (3) Moreover, after 1646 if not before, the school was big enough to need a doctor. (4) At first the doctor had no fixed salary - "every honest man in the town who had bairns at the schule would either give his day's meal or a grot (groat)" (5) - but Robert Causton, who was appointed by the Session in 1653, was promised 100 merks of salary and 6/- per quarter from every boy in the school. (6)

The burgh school of Inverkeithing was, it appears, a less imposing establishment. Not until 1670 did it achieve a doctor, nor did it occupy a proper school building until 1674. (7) The salary too was small: the Town paid only 50 merks in 1615 and 1626 (including 30 merks from certain Altar revenues that had passed into the keeping of the Town Council) and 55 merks in 1633. (8) This no doubt was added to by the Kirk Session - the Presbytery made no complaint about the amount of the salary when they visited the burgh in 1656, although some years before they had thought 110 merks was too little for the parish schoolmaster of Dalgety (9) -

1. MS. Culross K.S. 22/6/1647. 2. In 1755, Webster calculated, the population of the parish was 1695, most of whom were in the burgh. 3. See Appendix, Culross. 4. "The schoolmaster ... not able to bear the charge alone" MS. Culross K.S. 5/4/1646. 5. Ibid. 6. Ibid 24/5/1653. 7. Stephen, History, p. 388 et seq. 401. 8. Ibid p.389. Common Good, Inverkeithing. 9. MS. Presbytery Dunfermline 9/7/1656 & 29/9/1647.

but even so it is unlikely that the schoolmaster ever received as much as £100 of salary. Nor was his salary always paid promptly or fully. Yet, in spite of this, it is probable that there was always a schoolmaster in the town; and of the five who are known to have taught there between 1602 and 1671, all but the first were graduates.

There were four burgh schools within the bounds of St. Andrews Presbytery - Anstruther Easter, Anstruther Wester, Crail and St. Andrews - and of these St. Andrews was much the most important. It paid (and, at the beginning of the century at least, paid promptly) the second largest salary in the county. (1) After 1622 it was housed in a fine new building; and in addition from 1601 to 1623 (or possibly for longer) it was taught by Mr Henry Danskene, who, if not, like his predecessor, Mr Auchinleck, described as one of the most learned schoolmasters in the Kingdom, was evidently so regarded; for he too was summoned by the Privy Council to appear with other schoolmasters and some of his scholars to determine whether Mr Alex Hume should be granted a monopoly for his Latin grammar. (2) It is probable that Mr Danskene, like some of his successors, was assisted by a doctor; but if so, he may have had to pay for him out of his own pocket. In 1658 it had become customary for the schoolmaster to provide for his assistant "with the od fyftie marks payed forth of the patrimonie of the master yeirlie". In that year, however, the Council, on the petition of the doctor "in his pressing necessitie", granted him 50 merks per annum, at their pleasure. (3)

1. Common Good, St. Andrews. There are receipts for payments received every year from 1601 to 1622 in the St. Andrews B.R. 2. R.P.C. 1st Series, Vol. XIII, p. 318. This was not the only extra-curricular duty Mr Danskene was called to undertake. In 1617 he greeted the King, on the occasion of his entry into St. Andrews, with a long Latin speech, and a volume of poems - "The Muses Welcome" - which included a poem by Danskene himself. R.P.C. 3rd Series, Vol. XI, p. 182. 3. MS. St. Andrews B.R. 16/9/1658.

Although from 1601 (if not earlier) the salary of the schoolmaster was paid by the burgh out of the Common Good, it was not until 1612 that the Magistrates obtained the right of appointment. In that year the Archbishop of St. Andrews granted to the Town Council the election of the master of the Grammar School "quhilk pertained of old to the Archdeacon of St. Andrews". (1) This measure of control by the Kirk over a burgh school to so late a date is unexampled in the county.

In addition to the Grammar School, the Town Council continued to maintain the Sang School throughout the seventeenth century, and to pay its masters large salaries: in the twenties and thirties they received, for teaching and precenting, £200 yearly. (2) No doubt here, as in Cupar, the Sang School taught English, but we have no direct evidence either of the subjects of instruction or of the qualifications of the masters; but it is significant that neither John Ros, master of the Sang School in 1595, nor John Roull, master in 1599, (3) nor Patrick Cairnes, Master in 1660, (4) ever received, either in Burgh or Kirk Session records, the dignity of a 'Mr' before his name, whereas the (graduate) masters of the Grammar School invariably do.

We need not linger over the other burgh schools in this Presbytery. Crail School yielded its master a salary of £100, (5) and the income from clerking to the Kirk Session; and this was good enough, with the fees, to hold one master to his post from 1630 to 1656. (6) But this school does not seem to have had a doctor; and when in 1666 one

1. Grant, p.86. 2. Common Good, St. Andrews. 3. "Register of the Kirk Session of St. Andrews" (S.H.S.) p.813 & 908. 4. MS. St. Andrews B.R. 10/1/1660; 2/6/1661; 12/12/1663. 5. Common Good, Crail. 6. Appendix, Crail.

was appointed, it was left to the Session to provide his salary. (1) Concerning the burgh schools of Anstruther Easter and Anstruther Wester, all that is known (in addition to what has been said about Anstruther Easter) is that neither employed a school doctor, that both were able to hold some of their schoolmasters for long periods (Easter Anstruther one for 23 years, Wester Anstruther one for at least 22 years), and that the Kirk Session of Anstruther Easter contributed to the schoolmaster's salary and paid housemail for his school. (2)

The lesser of the burgh schools in Cupar Presbytery - Falkland - which, as we have seen, was certainly established before 1611, was evidently flourishing 38 years later; but until 1649 very little information is to be obtained about it. It is known, however, that it employed a doctor as well as a schoolmaster for some time before 1649; and in that year a new one was engaged as "clerk to the sessione, doctor to the lectors in the grammer schuill, and reader and precentor in the Kirk". In addition, he was to teach "all who pleased to lerne musick both be singing and playing upon their own chargeis for the space of ane year" - an attempt to supply the lack of a Sang School which we find in no other burgh. For all his services the newly engaged doctor was to have "the whoill conditiones appoynted for Mr John Berwick when he was admitted to be clark" £20 from the Kirk Session, 50 merks from the Common Good of the burgh, and (from the Kirk Session, apparently) enough to raise his income from the "benefits of Baptisms and marriages" to a further 50 merks. (3) In addition, he was paid housemail. (4) From this agreement

1. MS. Crail K.S. 27/11/1666 & 11/1/1670. 2. Appendix, Anstruther Easter & Anstruther Wester, and MS. Anstruther Easter K.S. (in P.R.) 16/12/1651 & 17/5/1653. 3. John Downie, "Early Home of Richard Cameron" (Paisley 1901) p.8, (quoting Falkland K.S. 16/12/1649. 4. Ibid, p.9.

with the school doctor we can assume that the schoolmaster was relatively well paid; an assumption that is supported by the fact that although Mr Kinloch, who then held the office, in due course became schoolmaster of Cupar, he remained in Falkland for at least 13 years. (1)

Two burgh schools have been kept to the last because they permit much more detailed treatment, and with them we shall consider the Sang Schools that existed alongside - and sometimes in competition with - them. One of the most important burgh schools in the county was Cupar. How it and its companion Sang School - which, it will be recalled, were both maintained by the burgh in 1580 - fared in the first twenty years of the seventeenth century can only be inferred from the fact that one schoolmaster (Mr John Tully "ludimagister Cupri) was in office from 1580 to 1596, if not longer, (2) and that in 1627 both were obviously flourishing. Then each had a master with a salary of £100, and each employed a doctor - the Grammar School doctor with 253-6/8d per annum, and his opposite number in the Sang School with 226-13/4d. (3) The two masters and the doctor of the Grammar School were graduates; (4) and the doctor of the Grammar School was sufficiently wealthy and sufficiently interested in his school to bequeath 220 per annum to his successors in the post. (5)

Very little is known about the Sang School in those years. Neither Presbytery nor magistrates ever visited it (or at any rate recorded their visits); and evidently its course was too uneventful to draw the

1. Appendix, Falkland. 2. Reg. Gt. Seal, Vol 5, p.174 & Vol.6, p.296.
3. Common Good, Cupar. 4. Making the usual assumption from the use of "Mr" in the records. 5. MS. Cupar B.R. 9/2/1659 & 7/9/1668.

special notice of the Town Council. But it was called "The Musick or English School"; so it is reasonable to infer that at least reading and writing were taught in addition to music (which no doubt embraced both "singing and playing"). And to judge from the injunction laid upon one Master of the Grammar School not to impede any bairns who wished to resort to the Sang School, it was regarded as competing to some extent with the Grammar School. Even Latin may have been taught by the Sang Schoolmasters; one of them at least, as we shall see, was well qualified to teach it. But how, and by whom, the Sang School Masters and doctors were tried for their posts, and by whom nominated, we cannot say. (1) Since, however, the Music Masters were at this time Precentors in the parish Kirk, it is probable that the Kirk Session was consulted in that appointment at least.

The appointment of master and doctor of the Grammar School was, however, completely in the hands of the Provost, bailies, and Council of the burgh, subject to the usual right of the Presbytery to try the qualifications of a candidate for the mastership. What trial was taken of the doctor's qualifications we do not know; but in any event vacancies in the minor office were very rare at this time. Two doctors spanned the period from 1626 to 1706. In 1626 Mr John Moreis - who may have been an ex-schoolmaster of Anstruther Wester (2) was appointed at the same salary "as was payed to Mr Henry Sybbal last doctor of the school" - 80 merks. (3)

1. See below for the trial of a Dunfermline Sang School Master.

2. Appendix, Anstruther Wester.

3. MS. Cupar B.R. 30/11/1626 and Common Good. His share of the school fees, and the limits of his duty, were evidently matters for bargaining between the Council and the Schoolmaster - "Mr Huchessone to sie Mr Robert Williamsone master of the sd schuill to aggree ane fee for him". "The ordinary quarter payments" is mentioned in a contract between Town and Doctor in 21/9/1668 - and, as we have seen elsewhere, the usual share for the doctor was one third.

In 1656 he was succeeded by Mr John Williamson, the son of a Cupar school-master, at a salary of 110 merks, which included the £20 from his predecessor's endowment. (1)

The masters of the Grammar School, while not serving for these extraordinarily long periods, remained in the school for a fair length of time. In 1628 Mr Robert Williamsone I "willinglye and freelye at the counsellis requyst" on account of his age and infirmity, resigned his post, (2) - had he perhaps grown old in the Council's service? - and was succeeded by Mr Alexander Scot. (3) Scot introduced Wedderburn's Latin Grammar - which had been published in 1630 - to the school, was made a burgess of Cupar, (4) and resigned on 28th February 1638, handing over the school key in token of his demission. (5) The same day his successor, Mr Robert Williamsone II, was appointed for one year and so long thereafter "as the toone pleasure to continue him", at a salary of £100. He was to use Wedderburne's Grammar, and to keep "that same self order and form of teatching and keiping the ... scoll as ... Mr Alexander Scot did befoir", on payment by the town's children of the old school fees. (6) He promised to use his diligence, to refer the admission and demission of the school doctor to the Town Council, and not to "hinder or impede no bairnes to passe to the Musick or Inglish school at thair pleasure". (7)

At a later date part of the admission ceremony consisted of the handing over of the school keys and the school tawse - the heavy

1. MS. Cupar B.R. 9/2/1659; and Lament, p.159. His father was Mr Robert Williamsone II (see below). 2. MS. Cupar B.R. 710/73/1628. 3. Ibid 5/8/1634, when he was paid six years chamber mail. 4. Ibid 22/12/1647. 5. Ibid 28/2/1638. 6. How much they were is illegible. In 1661 they were 12/- per quarter, Ibid 13/11/1661. 7. Ibid 28/2/1638.

tough leather instrument of correction with which nearly all Scottish children are acquainted. (1) On this occasion it seems that no tawse were handed over; in any event Mr Williamsone soon supplied the omission, (2) with unfortunate results for his pupils. In March 1639 "anent the complaint be dyvers witnesses of this burgh aganes Mr Williamsone scoolmaster for regour and crewlty be him in correcting of the bairnes for girding of thaim to the blood the said Mr Robert compeirit and declairit that the fault was not in him bot only be the new tawse or ('ower') small maid and had never uset thaim befor and promised never to doe the lyke in tyme coming". (3)

After ten years in the post, Mr Williamsone II resigned, and at the "special desyre and requyst of the magistrates and counsell and with consent of ... Mr Robert Williamsone" Mr Andrew Andersone, Master of the Music School accepted the post. (4) He submitted himself for trial by the Presbytery of Cupar, and "by his Latine declamations, his resolving the ode assigned him rethorice et gramatice his scanneing of verses composed by himself did show himself abundantly qualified for the charge". (5)

Mr Andersone, like so many other schoolmasters, was a student of divinity, but he was unwilling (or not allowed by the Town Council) to put his career in the pulpit before his school. In March 1649 he "should have added" before the Presbytery, but he sent the excuse that this was his first year as master of the Grammar School, and as his school "was but ingathering" (note the date - 15th March) he was "loath to mell with anything that might divert him". (6) And five years later he once more excused

1639.

1. MS. Cupar B.R. 30/12/1670. 2. From Lochgelly? 3. MS. Cupar B.R. 22/3/1639.
4. Ibid 16/4/1648. 5. MS. Cupar Pres. 27/4/1648. 6. Ibid 28/12/1649.

himself, this time not only because of his duties as schoolmaster, but also because he was Clerk to the Cupar Kirk Session. (1) But perhaps there is a touch of the frustrated parson in his complaint to the Presbytery about "the sade condition of his scole his scholars going abroad on the Saboth". What was he to do, he asked. The brethren ordered that "while there (was) preaching in his Kirk he (should) catechise his scholars on the Saboth instructing them in the knowledge of God". (2)

Mr. Andersone was another burgh schoolmaster who had to play his part in entertaining royalty. When Charles II visited Cupar in 1650 and sat down to eat in the Tolbooth, the Council employed Mr Andersone "to give him a musicke song or two while he was at tabell". (3)

Mr Andersone resigned in 1660 to become schoolmaster of Perth. (4) Just before he left, the burgh was called on to find a considerable sum for its teachers' salaries. In 1659 Mr Williamsone, the doctor, had pointed out that he had not received the 110 merks per annum which had been promised him three years before, and the burgh had made good his arrears of salary. (5) The following year Mr Andersone requested "that something should be done about his salary" and the Town Council - hoping thereby, maybe, to persuade him to remain - agreed to give him £200 per annum, retrospectively to Whit 1657; (6) thus making him the best paid schoolmaster in the county, and putting the burgh deeply in his debt. (7)

1. MS. Cupar Pres. 28/12/1654. 2. Ibid 11/11/1652. 3. Lamont, p.24.
4. Ibid, p.159. In Perth he would be "entered and possessed by delyvering to him of ane book called the Gramer, with the Tawes and kie of the school door, as the ordiner symbolles of possession". Perth B.R. 10/3/1690, quoted John Hunter - "Diocese & Presbytery of Dunkeld", Vol.II, p.97.
5. MS. Cupar B.R. 9/2/1659. 6. Ibid 7/7/1660. 7. Ibid 4/12/1660. The debt was £342 - £237 salary plus £105 interest.

The last schoolmaster of all to be engaged in this period was John Williamsone (a son of Robert Williamsone II) who was promoted from school doctor in 1660. But this was an unfortunate appointment, and after only one year "the young man", in Lamont's words, "not haveing authority enough was put of his charge", and Mr Robert Kinloch, schoolmaster of Falkland, was installed in his place. (1)

There were at least twp inspections (or projected inspections) of the burgh School by the Presbytery in the period 1625 to 1660, but what the Presbytery thought of the school has not been recorded. The first, in 1625, was at the request of the schoolmaster, and the Presbytery were joined for the occasion by the provost, bailies, and certain of the Councillors. (2) The second was to have taken place in March 1647; when the Presbytery turned up at the school, however, only four members of the Town Council were there to meet them, the others, it was reported, being at the markets. The Presbytery could not, or would not, conduct their examination so poorly attended, and therefore they deferred it until the Provost, bailies and Town Council should be, as they put it, "at home". (3) Was this, one wonders, an attempt on the part of the Town Council to emphasize that they, and not the Kirk, controlled the school?

Finally, we may note the provision (or non-provision) of buildings for school and for teachers. What kind of premises the Sang School occupied we can only guess at, but the Grammar school had been equipped with a school building before 1625, (4) and its key, it will be remembered, played

1. Lamont, p.159 & MS. Cupar B.R. 13/11/1661. 2. MS. Cupar B.R. 16/10/1625.
3. Ibid 25/3/1647. 4. There is no reference in the Records to its erection after that date.

a part in admission and demission ceremonies. But the school, it is clear, was neglected; between 1625 and 1677 no repairs were carried out, so that by the latter year it was in a most unsatisfactory condition. (1) Schoolmaster and doctor, however, while they had an official building to teach in, had no official dwelling houses provided for them. But, as was usual, they were granted house mail, which was adjusted to their status - £16 to £20 per annum for the master, and £6 for his doctor. (2)

In Cupar we have an excellent example of the full control over its grammar school which a burgh might exercise. The church retained its power to inspect, here as everywhere, but the appointment of masters and doctors, and their payment, was completely in the hands of the Town Council. In Dunfermline the position was very different. There the Town Council at best only shared the responsibility of appointment of schoolmaster, doctor, and 'Master of the Sang School', a position which, in so far as it concerned the two masters, was due to Queen Anne's Mortification. In 1610 the Queen granted the town £2,000 and in return the Town Council bound themselves and their successors to pay the master of the grammar school and the 'Master of the Song' a yearly salary of £100 each. (3) And thereafter the schoolmasters of the Grammar and Sang Schools, while appointed by the Council, were presented by the heritable bailie of Regality. (4) Grammar schoolmasters seem to have been appointed by

1. MS. Cupar B.R. 21/11/1677. 2. Ibid 5/8/1634, 21/9/1668, & 18/12/1670. (The figure for the doctor (£6) is mentioned in 1668. There is no reason to believe that a higher figure was paid earlier.) 3. Burgh Schools Report, p. 97; see also O.S.A. Dunfermline, P. Chalmers - "Historical & Statistical Account of Dunfermline", (Edinburgh 1844-59), p.437, and Shearer, p.91. 4. The first Earl of Dunfermline to 1622; 2nd Earl to c. 1645; thereafter the successive Marquesses of Tweeddale.

this means without friction. But in the appointment of Masters of the Sang there was the complication that from 1630, and possibly from the foundation of the Sang School, the Sang Schoolmaster was generally also Precentor, (1) and also usually Session Clerk. To the latter posts, of course, he had to be appointed by the Kirk Session. Hence in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century it was customary for the presentee to the joint post of Music Master and Precentor to bring from the patron two letters of presentation - one to the Town Council, as managers of the Music School, and one to the Kirk Session. (2) No doubt this was done in the seventeenth century too, after 1610. Before 1630, however, the position is a little obscure. It is to be presumed that Mr John Walker, who entered "to be lector at the ... Kirk (of Dunfermline) " on the 5th December, 1604 was also Master of the Sang School; (3) but he is nowhere, as far as can be discovered, so referred to. Moreover, although he continued to be "Reader" until May 1630 (4) his place, if he held it, as Music Master had been taken some years before. In 1621 he had refused to read the prayers in the afternoon "in respect he (had) no benevolence nor goodwill of the pepill therfor". (5) Then in 1623 the Town Council ordered that all children "meet to learne the ... airt" should be put to William Cullen, who had declared his skill in teaching music, and who had been in the town for at least two years in some official or semi-official

1. On 20/12/1630 Mr Tullideff, Master of the Sang School, demitted; on 21/2/1631 Mr R. Anderson was appointed Sang School Master. In the Treasurer's Accounts for 1630 we read "To Mr Readie his stipend for precenting in vacancy £8. (Shearer, Dunfermline Burgh Records) p.167,169,170. On 14/4/1650 Mr Robert Anderson is described as "Precentor" in the Kirk Session Minutes - Extracts, sub anno. 2. P.Chalmers, "Historical & Statistical Account of Dunfermline" (Edinburgh 1844-59) p.440. 3. Dunfermline Parish Records 5/12/1604. He was paid by the burgh "for the reiding of the prayeris" in 1607 and 1610. (Shearer, D.B.R. pp.43,81.) A Mr John Walcar was candidate for the Mastership of the Grammar School in 1610. (Shearer, p.81.) 4. Dunfermline Parish Records, May 1630 - "Mr John Walker, Reader". P.T.O.

capacity. (1) Culen is never called Master of the Sang School, nor is there any mention of his bringing any letters of presentation, but he may have held the post. (2) In any event, the next Sang School master was Mr Stevin Tullideff, who brought his letters of presentation from the Earl of Dunfermline in November, 1626, entered the post in June, 1627, presented in the Kirk, and demitted in December, 1630. (3) Last of all came Mr Robert Anderson, who was made Master of the Sang School in February 1631, (4) and Reader and Session Clerk in 1640, (5) and who held all his posts until 1687. (6)

Mr Anderson's appointment was gone about with some ceremony. After being presented by the Earl of Dunfermline, he was referred for trial to the Bishop of Dunblane, "Dane of the ... Chapell royall and greatest number of best experienced therof in the said art and they having takin tryall of the qualification of the said Robert in the art of Musik and playing upon instruments", found him qualified. (7) And when he was inducted into the school, the Burgh Treasurer's Accounts inform us, there was "spendit 23-9s-7d". (8)

Before we leave the Sang School, we must mention the school buildings, school fees, and the salary of the Sang School Master. Unlike the Grammar School, which (particularly after 1625) was housed in a building of some dignity, the Sang School before 1629 was taught wherever the Music Master could rent a house, and after 1629 in a converted dwelling house

1. Shearer, D.B.R. p. 140. Culen craved the support of the Town Council "in respect of twa bypast hard years". 2. Culen may have been the William Culen (again notice the lack of 'Mr') who was paid by the Burgh in 1611, and referred to in a context that indicates he was either doctor in the Grammar School or Master of the Sang School. (Shearer, p.92) If he was doctor of the school, his place was taken by John Anderson before 1620. (Shearer, D.B.R. 1620) 3. Ibid pp. 156, 157, 166. See also p.170 - "To Mr James Reddie (the schoolmaster) ... for presenting in the vacancy (i.e. before appointment of Anderson) 23". 4. Ibid, p.167. 5. Dunfermline P.R. 16/8/1640. 6. Extracts, 17/4/1687. 7. Shearer, p.167. 8. Ibid p.169.

owned by the Town Council. (1) The Sang School fees were fixed at 10s. per quarter in 1627 - in 1623 William Cullen had been permitted to charge his pupils 6s 8d per quarter, and presumably they were unchanged from then until after the demission of Mr Anderson. (2) What subjects, apart from Music, were taught for this fee we cannot say; but already by 1716 writing and arithmetic were considered part of the normal curriculum in the Sang School, and so it is probable that reading and writing at least were taught during Mr Anderson's time, if not before. (3) Finally, the salary which Queen Anne's Mortification afforded was reduced, sometime before 1665, from £100 to £80, and then to £60. (4)

The work of the Grammar School, paying (after 1610) a very good salary, and (after 1625) housed in a very good building, was not interrupted by frequent changes of schoolmaster. Between 1591 and 1668 it had only five masters, all graduates, only one of whom had a relatively short period of service - eight years - and three of whom remained for periods of almost 20 years each. (5) The first of these schoolmasters - Mr Dalgleish, the son of a merchant and burgess of Dunfermline - was himself made a burgess in 1609, a rare honour for a schoolmaster. (6) Another became minister of nearby Korryburn. And all but the first were presented by the heritable bailie of Regality. Once the Town Council was given a

1. Shearer, D.B.R. p.163. Repairs were carried out on the Sang School - including harling - in 1630. (Shearer, p.169) 2. Ibid pp. 140 & 157. Fees are not mentioned in the account of Anderson's appointment.
3. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 18/9/1716. Arithmetic is a special case - see below.
4. Shearer, p.275. 5. See Appendix, Dunfermline Grammar Schoolmasters. This assumes that we have the names of all the masters (extremely probable) and that Mr Reddie ceased to be schoolmaster in 1648. 6. Shearer, p.68.

choice of candidates. In 1610 we read of "my lord Chancelors direction to the provost baillies and counsaill and comunitie of this burt willing thame to condescend upon thare lyking of the lyvis and conversation of Mr John Walcar and William Smyt (1) suiting to be admittit scholemaister." On this occasion, liking "baith the said young men's lyvis and conversation", the Council referred the choice back to his Lordship. (2) At other times his Lordship presented only one candidate, and there is no indication that the Town Council ever refused to accept him.

The schoolmasters who were so appointed, in spite of their long periods of service, the relatively high salaries that they drew, and the good school that they occupied, were not free from trouble. There were assaults upon the schoolmasters - in 1611 three citizens (3) were guilty of "som misbehaviour usit be thame towards ... Mr William (Smyth) trubling him in the schole", (4) and in 1627 James Walker, merchant, was "convicted of misbehaviour towards Mr James Sibbald scholemaster in invading and preasing to strike him with ane corne fork be syd the scholl". (5) But these were comparatively minor matters. More serious was the decay of the school in the years after the Civil Wars - a decay partly due, as the schoolmaster himself declared, to "the troublous times". In 1619 the school had been sufficiently successful to delight the Council into unaccustomed generosity towards their school-

1. Elsewhere he is referred to as Mr William Smyt - e.g. Shearer, pp. 90, 92, & Dunfermline Parish Records 17/3/1616. 2. Shearer, p.81. He chose Mr Smyt. 3. One of the three was William Culen. Is this the Culen we have already met? 4. Shearer, p.90. 5. Ibid p.158.

master. (1) In 1656 its schoolmaster was driven to petition the Kirk Session "to tak to thair serious consideration how a competent provision may be had for upholding of the grammar school", (2) with the result that they appealed to the heritors, probably without result; and three years later the schoolmaster threatened (but, as we know, did not carry out his threat) to remove to "another place" because of "lack of mentanance". (3)

None the less, even in its darkest days - and most of its days were far from dark - the school was able to provide work for a doctor. Until 1620 he was paid no salary, but had only his share of the fees. In that year, the Kirk Session and the Town Council, considering how necessary it was "to have youthis in thair tender yeiris trainit up in literature vertue and manneris" and because there were many children in the school whose parents could not afford the school fees, agreed that the doctor should receive a salary of 50 merks - half to be paid by the Council, and half by the Kirk Session - in return for which he was to teach the poor scholars gratis. (4) Up to 1620 he had probably been appointed by the Town Council, or possibly by the schoolmaster. Thereafter, since the Kirk Session paid at least half his salary, they also claimed and obtained a share in his appointment. (5) At some point between 1620 and 1640, however, he began to receive 50 merks per annum from the Kirk Session - a figure which he continued to receive until 1660 - though whether the Town Council contributed

1. Shearer, p.122. 2. Extracts 11/3/1656. 3. Ibid 15/3/1659.
4. Shearer, p.129. 5. After 1673 the Session had a still stronger claim to share in the appointment, as in that year they mortified 1,000 merks to pay the Doctor's salary. (Note 3 cont. overleaf)

Note 3 cont. A meeting of "heritors and all havand entres bothe in
toun and land" was called, and it was agreed that "there shall be
something gathered from those who are heritors fewers tenants ... to
make up some stock that the rent thair of may come to the benefect of
the schoolmaister". (MS. Dunfermline K.S. 23/3/1659 & 29/3/1659)

anything after 1640 is not known. (1) The doctor was always submitted for the Session's "assent and approbation". (2) At times they accepted him on presentation of testimonials; (3) at times they tried him in "his literature and conversation"; (4) and on occasion he was put on probation, as in 1648, when "Anent Mr Samuel Henrieson who is to be enterit Doctor of the Grammar Schools, it is thot fitt that ane assay be taken of his qualifications and fitness for that office for a quarter of a yeir to come and that so mutch mentanance be promised to him that space till a way be fund out, & advysit on for the settling of a competent pension to a Doctor, and if he remain not, that so mutch be peyit to him for the space that he bides". (5)

Until 1646 the post of doctor seems to have been an attractive one, if length of service is any guide. We know of only two doctors from 1620 to 1646 - John Anderson, who taught for at least twelve years (1620 to 1632) and Mr John Hodge, who resigned in 1646 after at least six years 'doctoring' - and these two may well have taught for the whole 26 years between them. But from 1646 until 1653 there were ~~six~~^{six} ~~six~~ doctors. (6) Whether this rapid turn over was because Kirk Session and Town Council were dissatisfied with the doctors, or because the doctors were dissatisfied with the salary (and their share of the fees, which at this time must have been declining with the decay of the school) we cannot say. But it is significant

1. Extracts 10/11/1640; 9/6/1646; 10/3/1649; 5/10/1652 & 20/9/1653. On 12/9/1653 the Session granted Inglis, the doctor, "the benefit and fee which his predecessours got before him". 2. e.g. Extracts 17/5/1646; 21/3/1647; 20/9/1653. 3. Ibid 20/9/1653. 4. Ibid 21/3/1647. 5. Ibid 2/4/1648. 6. See Appendix, Dunfermline Doctors. One of them made two appearances - in 1646, and again in 1649.

that in 1650 the Session recognised that the salary was insufficient, and in consideration of the doctor's "burden of his familie, having 4 or 5 young childrene, and of this deare yeare", granted him an additional four dollars of salary "termlic". (1)

None the less, in the very worst years the Town Council and Kirk Session found a doctor, Robert Inglis, who remained in the school for six years and who might well have remained longer had he behaved with greater decorum. For the Kirk Session concerned itself, of course, not only with the "literature" and teaching power of the doctors, but also with their morals. In 1659 Inglis was found guilty of having sworn, in his cups, "Bevil confound me soul and body", and of "scandalous cariage in being drunk and eftir being fund in bed with elapet Matheson". The Session informed the Town Council that he should be deposed. Furthermore, they ordered him to be publicly rebuked from the pulpit "the next Sabbath". (2) But on the representations of the schoolmaster, who declared that if "Inglis was publicklic rebuked for the prosent it wald be a means to mak him contemned and vilified", the Kirk Session agreed, in the interests of school discipline, to suspend the public censure until just before Inglis' removal. (3)

What of the buildings in which the burgh schoolmasters and their assistants did their work in those years? All too little is known of them. The plan of St. Andrews Grammar School, which was erected in 1622, indicates a structure of some dignity, with apparently two class rooms on the ground floor, but of course reveals nothing of the

1. Extracts, 14/4/1650. This was not the first time the Kirk Session had given the doctor a bonus. In 10/11/1640 they had given Mr John Hodge "ane dollor more" & in 9/6/1646 "one dollor more" to Mr E. Bithholme.
2. Extracts, 25/1/1659 & 8/3/1659. 3. Ibid 15/3/1659.

furnishing. On the other hand the description and the sketch of Dunfermline Grammar School, which was built in 1625 and which served the burgh for almost 200 years, is much more revealing, and what we can learn of other buildings of a later date suggests that it was not untypical. It was a plain building of two storeys, about 40 feet long by 25 feet broad by 16 feet high, in stone. The upper storey, lit by 3 large windows, facing the street, and reached by an outside stair built to the east gable, was the schoolroom, and below was the schoolmaster's dwelling. There was little to indicate its purpose, except the carved admonitions to teachers and taught. Above the upper west window was cut the stern motto

S E P:

D O C E E T

C A S T I G A U T

V I V A T P U E R

while above the east window were the words

D I S C E

E T P A T E

R E S I G T E B E A B

I T D E U S T U U S (1)

The drawing given here is of the building after it had undergone some alterations - a new door in 1708 and a chimney in the east gable in 1714 (2) - and had stood for many generations; but the new building of 1622 can have been little different. And such in essentials would be the burgh

1. E. Henderson, "Annals of Dunfermline", p.290. 2. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 9/11/1708 & 21/8/1714.

schools of the wealthier burghs, then and for the next fifty years. Minor variations there were, of course; Inverkeithing school, which was built in 1676, and which was very like Dunfermline school, had the schoolmaster's residence upstairs, and not down; (1) and Cupar School was thatched, and not slated or tiled. (2)

Within the schoolroom the schoolmaster and his doctor in a large burgh would have to deal with over 100 pupils when times were good; (3) but when the school was in decay - and many schools had quite violent ups and downs - there would be far fewer. (4) At the best there might be two classrooms - but in each there would be many 'classes' using the term in our modern sense; and between these classes there would be no partition. But often there would be only one room, and there master and doctor would hold forth together. Probably the children of each 'class' would sit together; and where girls and boys attended the burgh school, they no doubt sat on the same benches, as they did long after this period. In the very poorest schools, the seat was no doubt the floor; but as we have seen, even a parish school might be equipped with "stone and mortar seats set round the walls"; (5) and many at the beginning of the next century - when there can hardly have been a great improvement in schoolroom furnishings - had benches. (6) The burgh

1. Stephen, History, p.401. 2. MS. Cupar B.R. 21/11/1677.
3. This figure I take from the dimensions of the school. In 18/10/1798 Markinch Heritors decided to build a schoolroom 30' by 20' by 9' for upwards of 100 pupils. MS. Markinch Heritors, sub anno. 4. In Kinross Grammar School the number of pupils fell from 80 to 20 between 1711 and 1715. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 4/4/1715; in Inverkeithing, in 1683, there were only 6 pupils in the Burgh School. Stephen, History, p.391.
5. Balmerino - see above p. 36. 6. MS. Saline K.S. 21/12/1709; MS. Ferry K.S. 12/3/1739 - "a new seat to scholars"; MS. Forgan K.S. 6/5/1730; MS. St.Andrews B.R. 20/6/1715.

schools, we can take it, were supplied with benches too. (1)

The floor of the classroom in a parish school in the eighteenth century, and it can hardly be doubted, in the seventeenth too, was commonly of earth or earth and lime, but in a burgh school might be of deals (or soft wood) - would certainly be if the schoolroom was in an upper storey. Upon the floor was strewn, as we are reminded by James Melville's story of the conflagration he caused in an idle moment in his school in Montrose, and as Kirk's jaundiced note of what he saw in

Burntisland in 1677, ~~makes clear, a covering of bent (or rushes) and moss.~~ (2) The drawings of Dunfermline and St. Andrews Schools show quite large windows; and there are many entries in the burgh records (and more significant, in some parish records) to "glass for the windows". (3)

But before sunrise and after sunset - and in winter the school was in session at both these times - artificial light would be needed. Whether this was usually regarded as a necessary expense on the part of the schoolmaster cannot be decided, though the absence of any reference to it in the burgh accounts indicates that it was. We need not assume that the only light came from the classroom fire; in 1670 the parish school of Newburgh was supplied with two candlesticks by the Kirk Session. The better burgh schools would not be less well equipped. (4)

It is unnecessary to imagine, in the absence of any direct reference to a schoolroom fire, that in winter the only method of heating

1. For a discussion of the burgh school furnishing in the period 1660-1696, see below p.200. And cf. this entry from the South Leith K.S. 1/11/1655, "to buy some deals and trees to mak up some seats in the school for the bairnes". "South Leith Records", ed. D. Robertson, (Edinburgh 1911) p.102.
2. Kirk - "Tours in Scotland", ed. P. Hume Brown (Edinburgh 1892) p.16.
3. Shearer, p.92 (in 1611); MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 31/3/1639.
4. MS. Newburgh K.S. 22/11/1670. Again it is worth pointing out that life in the county was harder after 1650 than before.

the bairns was contiguity or the tawse. The sketch of Dunfermline Burgh School shows that it was well supplied with chimneys, and not all of them can have been for the schoolmaster's house; (1) and since a number of parochial schools built or projected towards the end of the seventeenth century had many chimneys, we are justified in inferring their presence in the burgh schools at an earlier date. (2) So to our picture of the pre-Restoration schoolroom we can add an open coal fire, in the better provided burghs at least. (3)

-----cOo-----

When we turn our attention to the subjects of the curriculum and the length of the school day in the Fife schools before 1660, we need not treat burgh and parochial schools apart. Although burgh schools were in intention essentially Grammar schools - schools where Latin was taught - they often handled the elementary subjects. In Crail in 1582 the burgh schoolmaster was required to instruct the youth in the "vulgar language and reading of the same": (4) in Burntisland in 1620 "Ingliis" was taught in the burgh school; (5) and in Dunfermline

1. The sketch of course, as has been mentioned, is of the school towards the end of its existence. But apart from ordering a "lum" to be constructed in 1712 & 1714, MS. Dunfermline B.R. 11/10/1712 & 21/8/1714 (and this may have been a reconstruction) the Town Council did not, as far as the records show, add any chimneys to the building between 1625 and its demolition. 2. e.g. School projected in Kilconquhar in 1697 to have four chimneys - Rev.R.Dick, Annals of Colinsburgh (Edinburgh 1896) p.102; Kennoway school in 1692 to have three stone chimneys. MS. Kennoway K.S. 25/4/1692. The earliest direct reference to a fire in a Fife schoolroom I have met is in 1763 when Kinghorn Town Council, in its new rules for the school, laid down the months when a fire was to be kept in the school. 3. Coal was of course plentiful on the shores of the Forth. Note, however, the "coals and peatis for the schoolmaster" provided in Newburgh, MS. Newburgh K.S. 6/11/1653. This is the sole reference to peat I have met in the records. 4. Grant, Burgh Schools, p.388. See also Erskine Beveridge, op.cit. p.31, where we find the Grammar Schoolmaster complaining that another teaches "to read and write in the vulgar language, in hurt of ... (his) gift". 5. Ibid, p.388.

the burgh schoolmaster who complained in 1656 and again in 1660 against the Adventurers who taught children to read and write was himself obviously giving instruction in those subjects. (1) And while the parish schools no doubt concentrated on "the vulgar tongue", yet in 1637 the parish school of Auchtertool was referred to as "the Grammar School", (2) and Ceres in 1626 had a table of fees which included Latin. (3) Between 1640 and 1650 the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy examined seven candidates for five of the parish schools in their bounds - in each case "in his grammar". (4) Quite plainly the brethren made little distinction (though they did make some) (5) between the qualifications required of the burgh and parochial schoolmaster.

All the parish schools taught reading and writing; and there is no evidence that it was usual then, as it was to be in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to teach a child the first and not the second. (6) If the state of the Parish Registers and Kirk Session records of our period is anything to go by, writing was well taught. (7) In the teaching of reading, the Bible (or the New Testament) was apparently the main text book, and where the child's parents could not afford to buy, a copy was granted by the Kirk Session, as for example in Dunfermline, where we meet such entries as : "Given to buy a book to Jon Anderson a poor scholler 13/4. Item given to pay for a new testament and a psalme book to one of Jon pearsons bairnes 29/-". (8) Whether learning the Catechism by heart can

1. Extracts, 11/3/1656 & MS. Pres. Dunfermline 21/11/1660, & see above p.46.
2. Stevenson, Presbytery Book, 22/6/1639. 3. MS. Ceres K.S. (in P.R.) 25/6/1626. 4. The parishes were Markinch (twice), Auchtertool, Auchterderran, Kennoway, and Kinglassie. Stevenson, Presbytery Book 10/3/1642 to 11/12/1650 passim. 5. See the remark, quoted on p.30, about Mr Andre Malloch, in Stevenson, Presbytery Book, 5/1/1648. 6. I.e. there are no separate scales, in any of the lists of fees that have survived from this period, for reading and writing. 7. It is interesting to note the change from the old hand to the modern Italic script in the mid-seventeenth century - as in the Cupar Burgh Records. Occasionally, as in Ferry Port-on-Craig after June 1656, one finds an excellent modern hand with traces of the old. 8. Extracts - 21/9/164

3. Extracts - 21/9/1647 (p.25) (cf. with the 10/- per quarter paid for each poor scholar at this time). Also in MS. Kingsbaurs K.S. 31/3/16 "for 3 books to 3 poor scholars" - 3/-; and MS. Dairsie K.S. 14/7/16. Very few of the cash books have survived from pre 1660 - but see below for the custom after 1660.

be counted as part of the reading lesson is doubtful; but that too was an important side of the child's education. Indeed, in the view of the Reformers, one learned to read in order to study God's Word and such aids to its interpretation as the Catechism and the Belief. In 1599 the St. Andrews Kirk Session agreed with Johnne Scurdys, merchant, that he ... instruct the "pure bairnis and remanent pair in the hospital; ... he sall teache the yong anes to reid and writt: he sall teache thame ... the Lords Prayer, the belief, Ten Commandements, and Chatechize." (1)

When the school was visited by Minister or Kirk Session we can be sure ... that they, like the minister of Pittenweem in 1650, examined the children in the Catechism, though they rarely noted the fact in their reports. (2) And the children's laboriously acquired knowledge - for it cannot have been easier then than now to get up the answers to that searching and abstruse doctrinal inquisition, the Westminster Shorter Catechism, which became The Catechism in Scottish schools after 1649 - was put to good use. In many, if not all, the kirks there was a "scholars loft", (3) and there the schoolchildren were expected to appear every Sunday, and in many parishes be prepared to rehearse the Catechism. In 1653 the Kirk Session of Dunfermline, for example, "recomendit to Mr Thomas Walker Schoolmaster to have his schollers in reddines to repeat the Catechism everie sabbath betwixt the second and third bell, before noone and efternoone the one to propose and the uthyr to answer, that the people may heare and learne, it being usit in uthyr Kirks". (4) And among the other Kirks where the schoolchildren performed to the edification of their elders were Culross

1. Reg. St. Andrews, p.881. 2. See above, p.24.

3. e.g. in Culross - E. Beveridge, "Culross & Tulliallan" (Blackwood, 1885) Vol.II, p.25, & MS. Culross K.S. (in P.R.) 24/12/1635; and Dunfermline - Dunfermline Extracts, 12/11/1644. 4. Extracts, 20/12/1653.

and Pittenweem. (1) In Crail, on the other hand, a different method was used. There a young boy who was maintained upon the Kirk box was set to read the Catechism every Sunday. (2)

In one parish at least the schoolchildren had to endure an even fiercer ordeal than this repetition of the answers of the Shorter Catechism between the second and third (or first and second) bells. In 1657 Kennoway Kirk Session ordered that the schoolchildren were to repair to the school each Sunday 'at the second bell' and go to the Kirk with the master; then after both services they were to return to the school and "repeat their notes of all the Director's and sermones". (3)

Teach properly the grounds of religion, it has been widely held, and you produce good behaviour. Nevertheless in all ages it has been customary to supplement the teaching of principles with instruction in the practice of what for the time is considered right conduct. It may be this instruction that is referred to in the second part of the common formula 'literature and good maners' used in the terms of appointment of schoolmasters - e.g. in Kirkcaldy in 1586; (4) taking 'maners' in the Wykehamist sense. It is however probable that the word had its

1. MS. Culross K.S. 18/4/1654; MS. Pittenweem K.S. 19/11/1650 - "the master ... to instruct the bairnes that could read the shorter catechise to gett it thair memory that it might be said in Kirk"; & Ibid 14/6/1653.
2. MS. Crail K.S. 1/1/1650. 3. MS. Kennoway K.S. 19/2/1657. This was the course recommended by John Brinsley in his "Grammar School" (1613). See Flimpton - "The Education of Shakespeare" (O.U.P. 1933) p.38. Corderius's Dialogues - Colloquy LXVIII - implies a similar custom. In Cupar the schoolmaster was ordered to catechise the children on the Sabbath during preaching MS. Cupar B.R. 11/11/1652. A little later, in 1665, the master and doctor of Kirkcaldy were instructed to "make an attempt of the scholars there hearing of the sermone". J.Campbell, op cit, p.83.
4. Macbean, p.120.

modern significance. In 1646 the new schoolmaster of Pittenweem was to "instruct the whole barines of this burgh that sall resort to the schoole both poore and ritche in godlines and gud maners". (1) In 1665 the Kirk Session of Kirkcaldy ordered schoolmaster and doctor of the Burgh School to "cause the scholars to be courteous to all". (2) Did they attempt to impart a polish to their pupils with the vigour and attention to detail demanded of the schoolmaster of Dundonald (Ayrshire)? He was to teach "the scholars guid maners how to carie themselves fashionablie towards all ... (he) wold lerne them gesture of courtesie to be ussed towards himself in the shoole, thair parents at home, gentlemen, eldersmen and others of honest fashion abroad. He wold put in thair mouths style of compellatioun sutable to each ans place to quhom they speik, and how to compose thair countenance, eys, hands, feit, quhen ony speiks to them or they to them, and that they be taught to abandon all unciveill gesturs, as skarting of heid, armes etc." (3) Probably not; but without going to these Turveydrop lengths the schoolmasters may well have been expected to teach the elements of carriage, conversation and deportment, particularly in the burgh schools to which sprigs of nobility and gentry resorted. (4)

Reading, writing, religious instruction, and possibly the teaching of the usages of polite society - these basic subjects are found. But where is Arithmetic? One would expect Fife, with its many thriving seaports, to be provided with teachers of this essential tool for navigation, not only in the University of St. Andrews but also in the Grammar Schools.

1. MS. Pittenweem K.S. 4/10/1646. 2. J. Campbell, "Church & Parish of Kirkcaldy", p.83. 3. The Kirk Session Records of Dundonald, (19/1/1640)p.464. ed.

Yet the subject appears in none of the tables of school fees before 1674, when we find that the schoolmaster of Kirkcaldy contracted to teach it for 30/- per quarter - that is, it was as expensive as Latin. (1) It is possible that we have a reference to its being taught in Dysart Burgh School long before that; in 1647 Mr. James Craig, Precentor and schooldoctor, requested that he might have "tollerance to receive under his discipline such ... others thin have ane desyre to learn -- " - arithmetic? The word is extremely ill-written, and one cannot be sure. (2) But that amount of arithmetic necessary to "lay accounts" was certainly taught in Pittenweem from 1646. (3) Moreover, it is probable that some instruction in the subject was given before there was any mention of it in the contracts with schoolmasters. (4) Mr. Skairs, the schoolmaster who taught it in Kirkcaldy in 1674, had been schoolmaster of Crail and doctor in Cupar. It is possible that he taught Arithmetic in his previous posts - that is, just after 1660. (5)

Since references to arithmetic in the schools in the burghs are so few, it is not surprising that there is not the slightest direct evidence that the subject was taught in any of the landward parochial schools before 1660 - indeed the earliest indication that it was part of the ordinary curriculum there is in 1703. (6) And it is extremely

1. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 23/11/1674. 2. MS. Dysart B.R. 13/9/1647. The last word is written "c(?)a)squiggle methick". 3. MS. Pittenweem K.S. (in P.R.) 4/10/1646 & MS. Pittenweem K.S. 3/5/1653 - when schoolmasters are engaged to "instruct the bairnes ... to read, wrytt & lay accounts". In 1684 a schoolmaster was engaged who was "well skilled in Arithmetick". Ibid 24/6/1684. 4. And we note that across the Forth, in South Leith, it was a recognised school subject, with the same fee as for Latin, in 1655, - "South Leith Records" ed. D. Robertson (Edinburgh 1911) p.102.
5. See Appendix, Cupar & Crail Masters and Doctors.
6. MS. Pres. Kirkcaldy 23/6/1703.

unlikely that the vast majority of adventure schools taught anything but reading and writing. It is possible, however, that in the early years of the seventeenth century we have an example of an adventure schoolmaster who did teach arithmetic in Fife. In 1608 the Town Council of Dunfermline received "a supplication by Johne Mathescoun Wrytter that he (had) been this long tyme bypast in sundry burrowis within this realme in instructing the youth in the art of wrytting and introduction in arithmetick. And now desyring to be here for the benefit of the youth ... craves for ane chalmer furnished with burdis for wrytting ..." - a request which, as we have seen, the Town Council granted. (1) Did he in fact teach arithmetic in his chamber furnished with boards for writing?

Finally, nearly every school offered instruction in "Grammar" or Latin. No list of texts studied in the Fife schools has come down to us from that period. It is probable that where there was a very full course, it would not differ very greatly from what James Melville had experienced in his Angus school, (2) which was similar to the course in Glasgow Grammar School. (3) But one change there certainly was. Melville had used Lily's Grammar; in Cupar, as we have seen, and in Burntisland, Wedderburn's Grammar became the official textbook; but in Burntisland at least it was not used long. Introduced to the school in 1635, it was discontinued after only three years as an "unfit book". (4)

It is impossible to say what proportion of the schoolchildren were taught Latin. That a so-called Grammar School could be left with practically no Latin pupils is however clear from the example of Pittonweem School. In 1650 it was reported that there was "bot one learning latine,

1. Shoarer, p.45. 2. The Diary of Mr. James Melville, (Bannatyne Club 1829) p.14. 3. See Grant, p.330 et seq. 4. Burgh Schools Report, p.95.

and twa learning to read latine in all the schoole." (1)

If other languages were taught in our Fife schools, we hear nothing about them. Greek became a monopoly of the Universities in 1645; French, which Melville had learned in his Montrose school, and Dutch (useful to many who had trade with the Netherlands) if they were taught at all, were probably left to Adventure teachers. (2)

To discover the organisation of the schools, burgh and parochial, and the methods of instruction employed at this time, we have to rely on inference from the structure of the schoolroom, and on contemporary accounts from other parts of the country and later accounts from Fife itself. Since the sixteenth and seventeenth century school had at most two rooms, and since there were within these rooms anything from six to a hundred pupils, of all ages from five to fourteen or fifteen, under at the most two teachers, class teaching as we know it to-day would be impossible. The organisation we find in present day one-teacher schools, where all groups but one group, or all individuals but one individual, work away at tasks set by the master while he instructs that one group or individual - must have been found then. It is possible that to lighten their burden, master and doctor employed some kind of monitorial system. In 1640 the Dundonald Kirk Session included in the school regulations a clause that "these quho ar farder advanced in reiding Scottish quhether print or writ, each of them have the charge of a yong sholler quho shall set besyde them, qnhom they shall mak perfyte of his lessoun against

1. MS. Pittenweem K.S. (in P.R.) 19/11/1650. The distinction between "learning Latin" and "learning to read Latin" is presumably the distinction between learning to translate into and translate from Latin.
2. D.Forbes asked to be allowed to teach Dutch in South Leith in 1661. "South Leith Records" ed. D.Robertson, p.116.

the time come he shall be called to say on the negligent parteis perill". (1) And James Melville, referring to his Angus schooldays, talks of every pupil having "his matche and andagonist", both in lessons and play. (2) "Matche and andagonist" implies a contemporary, not an older pupil; but the similarity of the systems - the pairing off - is suggestive. It will be noticed, too, that the Dundonald regulations imply a good deal of learning by heart. This again agrees with Melville's experience, when he talks of "the thing quhilk I gat was mair be rat ryme nor knowledge". (3) It is probable that all our Fife schools insisted on a great deal of learning by rote; and that some of them had a form of monitorial instruction.

Again we have no direct information how, within this general framework, the different subjects were taught. In any case, apart from some broad agreement on, say, the Latin authors to be read, different teachers would have their individual methods. Unless Magistrates or Kirk Session regulated very firmly such matters as the number of themes or proses to be given (as the Kirkcaldy Magistrates and Elders did in 1705) there would be considerable variation, no doubt, even in the same school as master succeeded master. None the less, when we compare the Dundonald rules of 1640 on the teaching of writing with the much less detailed Kirkcaldy rules of 1705, they are sufficiently alike in fundamentals to tempt us to imagine that Fife practice corresponded fairly closely with the Dundonald regulations. (4) If so, then it would be the duty of the

1. Dundonald Session Records, p.464. 2. Melville, op.cit. p.14.
3. Ibid. Melville lays the fault at the door of his own immaturity - "his judgement and understanding was as yet smooored and dark" - but the deliberate framing of the lesson to ensure that what was read was understood was an innovation in the nineteenth century, and was dignified with the title of "Intellectual System". 4. See below p.308 for the Kirkcaldy School Regulations of 1705.

master to make or mend his pupils' pens, "rule thair paper, cast thair coppees, tak inspection particularly of everie one writing, point out the faults and learn them by ocular demonstration in his own prasteise before them how to mend. The maister most lead the hands of yong beginners, stand over thair heid for thair direction, and by goeing throuch all for thair funderance". (1)

Whatever methods of instruction the schoolmaster and the doctor used, they could do nothing if they were unable to control the large number of children who were under their care for very many hours every day. The ultimate sanction was of course the tawse; but it is probable that the schoolmaster would require more than one pair of eyes if he was to be sure that that instrument was to be wielded with sufficient discrimination. The use of "captains" or "comoun censours" (children picked out to observe and report on the misbehaviour of their fellows), which we find in the Dundonald and Kirkcaldy rules that have been quoted, was probably widespread. (2) But whatever methods he used to detect wrongdoers, the schoolmaster was not allowed to punish them with a free hand. In spite of a widespread belief in the good old days when a master could "get on with the business of teaching (and enforcing discipline)" without interference from parents or Committees, schoolmasters

1. Dundonald Session Records, 19/1/1640, p.465. It is highly probable that the method of teaching spelling (so very closely related to writing) was the method of the hornbooks. It was this method that Melville found George Buchanan using to teach his serving man - a,b, ab; e,b, eb; etc. On hornbooks see, e.g. Plimpton, op.cit.

2. The question *Quis custodes ipsos custodiet*, was answered in each case by the employment of a "privy" or "clandestine censour" - another pupil. The use of a "censor" (or official "clype") is known even to-day - but he or she is generally appointed for a very short time.

of the seventeenth century were watched with a careful eye by Magistrates and Kirk Session. Over severity met with sharp reproof. We have seen the unpleasantness in Cupar over the use of tawse "ower sma'", and how a schoolmaster in Dysart, one Andre Bryan, was fined and dismissed by the Town Council for "stryking of James Scott to the effusion of his blood". (1) And possibly those assaults on the schoolmasters of Dunfermline that have been mentioned, were made by furious parents enraged by the masters' treatment of their sons. But not all the schoolmasters who were accused of cruelty, one is glad to note, were found guilty by the authorities. In 1650 James Kirkland was sharply rebuked by the Session of Aberdour for "ane manifest ly quhilk he spake in face of the Session in saying that the master strak the bairnes until the time they were not able to stir". (2) None the less the schoolmaster knew that he would not be automatically supported by the Session, and that all who had complaints against him would receive a hearing. (3) Over severity, however, was not the only disciplinary fault the authorities disapproved of. In Scoonie the Kirk Session agreed that the master was "over indulgent"; but then they were out of patience with the youngsters of the parish, and had threatened with the joughs the "manie insolent and wantone youthes and young boyes that uses to sitt in the east loft of the Kirk upon the Sabbath day, and playes and troubles the preachers and hearers of gods word". (3) In Kennoway, the

1. This did not blast Bryan(t)'s career; in 1660 he became schoolmaster of Torryburn. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 20/3/1660. It is worth noting that in 1665, and possibly earlier, "outrageous speeches" to the scholars was a cause of complaint. J.Campbell, op.cit. p.83. The passage is quoted below.
2. MS. Aberdour K.S. 5/3/1650. 3. MS. Scoonie K.S. 14/8/1644 & 14/8/1641.

Kirk Session, displeased with the scholastic performance of the school-children, thought that their work might improve if the Master were more severe. Until the next inspection of the School by the Session, they ordered, the master was "to use his authoritie and to keip a Distance with the schollers". (1) And, it will be remembered, Cupar Town Council demoted one of their schoolmasters because of his lack of control.

One need not be surprised that the schoolmaster at times plied his tawse over vigorously or at times found that the problem of maintaining discipline was beyond him. Not only had he to control a large and tightly packed assemblage of children; he had to keep them out of mischief during an appallingly long school day. (2) In the last years of the sixteenth century Anstruther Wester Kirk Session gave instructions that the poor scholars (the term refers to the economic condition of the children) were to have three hours in the day to "seik their meit":- from nine a.m. till ten a.m; from noon till one p.m; and from six p.m. (3) This implies a schoolday beginning at seven or eight in the morning, and lasting for eight or nine hours. In Kirkcaldy in 1665 - and the reigning schoolmaster then had been in office since 1630 - the hours were seven till nine a.m; ten till twelve noon; and from two till six at night. (4) If anything, hours in the parochial schools were longer; in Kennoway, at the end of the seventeenth century - and by that time the school day was beginning to contract - the master had to be in attendance from six in the morning until six at night. (5) In none of these regulations is there

1. MS. Kennoway K.S. 24/7/1656. 2. This was the case not only in Fife, but throughout the country. See Grant, p.162 et seq. 3. MS. Anstruther Wester K.S. (in P.R.) 18/11/1595. 4. J.Campbell, op.cit. p.83. Cf. Kirkcaldy hours in 1705 - Campbell, p.84 (quoted below). 5. MS. Kennoway K.S. 2/1/1695. It has to be noted, however, that these hours may not have been entirely typical. The Kirk Session did not approve of their schoolmaster's conduct, and these hours may be punitive.

any hint that the Winter and Summer hours were different; (1) and probably in the majority of the burgh schools, serving as they did small but densely populated areas, there was no need for any variation. (2) But where, as was the case with most of the parochial schools, many of the children had a distance of one or two miles to travel, it is probable that there was a seasonal variation, the Winter schoolday starting later and finishing earlier; not so much because of the inadequacy of tallow candles and crudies within the school, but rather because of the difficulties of winter roads without any form of artificial lighting. (3)

But not even seventeenth century school boys and girls could be expected to endure these hours without relief. In Pre-Reformation times a calendar well supplied with Holy Days, and punctuated by the great religious festivals of Easter and Christmas, gave an opportunity for vacations. The Scottish Reformers, taking "away with your feast days" literally, set their faces against such superstitious and popish usages; and we can be sure that the brethren of the Fife presbyteries were not a whit less vigilant than their fellow presbyters elsewhere in sweeping them away; but if the fury of Fife schoolboys against this interference with a satisfactory custom led to riots such as that which cost an Edinburgh bailie his life, no echo has reached us. There was, however, no scriptural

1. The Kirkcaldy rules of 1705 specifically state that the hours were to be kept "summer and winter".
2. When the Magistrates of Edinburgh reduced the Winter hours in 1694, they did so on the grounds that the Grammar School was "situated in a corner at some distance". H.Gray Graham - "Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century" (London, 1906) p.435.
3. In Dundonald the hours were: in November, January and February, sunrise to sunset "except some younger ones or those who are farther distant from the schoole"; for the rest of the year, seven a.m. until six p.m. (with the usual breaks). Dundonald Session Records, p.464.

injunction against a summer or autumn vacation, and in a predominantly agricultural community, where the children of the poor at least would be required for the harvest, one would expect this need to be reflected in the closing of the schools. Yet there is no mention in any of the Session Records that the parish schools of Fife were given an official holiday at this season. (1) But it seems that where the schools were not closed some of the parents simply withdrew their children and sent them to the fields. In Kingsbarns, we read, there were parents "who had withheld their children from the school in harvest and summertime". (2) And that on 14th August, 1656, the parents of Ferry Port-on-Craig were "desired to send their children too the school" indicates that they too had sent their boys and girls to the harvest. (3)

In the burghs, though the first reference to a summer vacation we meet is in 1678, when the "schoolers" of the Cupar Grammar School successfully petitioned that "they might hav the vacanc for a certain spac til recreat themselves and go hom and sie ther parents", (4) it is safe to assume that long before this the burgh schools of Fife, like those elsewhere, gave a summer holiday - a break of four weeks or so, as in this case. (5) The boarders of Dunfermline School would have the same need of a "vacanc" as the children of Cupar. Certainly by 1705 "the vacation", (which was preceded by a Visitation by Magistrates and Kirk Session) was well established in Kirkcaldy. (6)

1. In Carnock in 1643 the "bairnes wer dismist in the end of Agust" - but this was because the master had gone to Edinburgh. MS. Carnock K.S. (in P.R.) 3/9/1643. 2. MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 16/9/1656. 3. MS. Ferry K.S. 14/8/1656. 4. MS. Cupar B.R. 26/8/1676. 5. Grant, p.186. 6. J.Campbell, op.cit. p.85.

In addition to such longer vacations, it was customary throughout the country to grant the children many short breaks from school work - "the play". (1) In 1598 the Privy Council had appointed Monday "to be a weekly pastime and exercising day over the realm", and had ordered masters of colleges and schools to give liberty to their students and scholars to exercise themselves in their pastimes after twelve o'clock. (2) How far this was observed, and when it fell into disuse in Fife, is not known. Elsewhere in the country, before 1640, the "common play days" had become Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. (3) In Fife we first hear of "the ordinary play days" at Kilrenny School in 1659; (4) and in 1665 the Master of Kirkcaldy Burgh School was ordered to "gif the play to the scholars" upon Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. (5) It is probable that these were the customary holidays in the Fife schools before 1660. Of course the schools were not closed for the whole of these days. If the Kirkcaldy School Regulations of 1705 are any guide (and they lay down hours for 'the play' very similar to those in Dundonald in 1640), the children were free after four p.m. on Tuesday and Thursday, and after 12 noon on Saturday. (6)

These were not the only breaks from work that the children were given. In the first place it is plain from the Kilrenny minute of 1659 that at least one parish schoolmaster gave more than "the ordinary days" - a habit which the Kirk Session was determined to break. (7) And it is possible that the custom of "gentlemen" begging (and receiving)

1. Grant, p.172. 2. R.P.C. 1st Series, VOL.V, p.462. 3. Grant, p.167, & Dundonald Session Records, p.465. The Dundonald entry refers to "recreation on the ordinary days Tuseday, Thureday, & Saturday". 4. MS. Kilrenny K.S. 1/2/1659. 5. J.Campbell, op.cit. p.83. 6. Ibid, p.84, & Dundonald Session Records, p.465. In Dundonald "the play" was one hour "in the Winter or from October to February, and twa hours the rest of the yeir". 7. MS. Kilrenny K.S. 1/2/1659.

a holiday for the children on all sorts of odd occasions, which so displeased the Magistrates of Cupar in 1720, and which was evidently well established then, was also established before 1660. (1) But in addition to these holidays, there were the periods between the demission of one schoolmaster and the admission of his successor. We have seen how frequent and how lengthy these interruptions in the work of the school could be. (2) Of course this was a circumstance that did not apply to burgh and parochial school alike; in the burghs there was usually a doctor to carry on, and in any event the Town Council generally had warning some time before the old master demitted, except when death caused a vacancy, that a new master was required. In the parish schools, however, there were few doctors, and it had not yet become customary to appoint interim teachers; and so the school would have to be closed. The delight of the children at this relief from the long hours of school has nowhere been recorded; but sometimes the impatience of their parents to see this holiday curtailed found expression. "Some of the elders desired that the planting of the schoolle might be hastened in respect that thair were divers bairnes redye for it", wrote the Clerk of Kingsbarns Session, "and thair parents were very desirous that it might be". (3)

There was one further cause of absence from the school which recurred with such frequency and which affected so many landward schools that it deserves to be dealt with alongside holidays. It was true that

"The snaw it stopped the herdin' an' the winter brocht him dool,
When in spite o' hacks and chilblains he was shed again for
school."

1. MS. Cupar B.R. 23/9/1720. That frequent "giving of the play", much more than on the ordinary days, was also common in St. Andrews is seen from MS. St. Andrews B.R. 10/10/1720. 2. See Appendix, esp. Kilrenny, Ferry, Kennoway. 3. MS. Kingsbarns K.S. (in P.R.) 14/11/1652. Nonetheless, the new schoolmaster did not enter until 12/12/1652.

But the winter also brought foul ways and swollen streams. "The wetness of the way and the want of a brig betwixt Fiddle and Auchtermuchty" prevented some of the schoolchildren of Auchtermuchty from attending Auchtermuchty school. They, however, had other schools, not too far distant, outwith the parish, and to them they were sent. (1) But the children of Collardye were kept at home until "the day grew longer and the way better". (2)

Finally, we must attempt to answer two questions:- how long did the "average" school child remain at school, and what proportion of the Fife children were given some kind of schooling. In 1647 the Synod, as we saw, tried to insist on a school life for all children of at least five years - from five to ten years old. How far was that carried out? In the burghs, as we see from the Dysart Town Council's order that no lad was to resort to adventure school "without five years of age", attendance at the grammar school might begin at five years of age. (3) This, however, was not usual. In Dunfermline "all maill children that are able to travell to the comon schoole and have learned the single catechism" (which means something more than five, one imagines) were ordered to resort to the burgh school. (4) In Kirkcaldy the age was seven years, (5) in Cupar, in Dysart, and in Pittenweem (for a time at least) eight years. (6) This did not mean, of course, that the ordinary Grammar School child's schooling began at these years. Even before the Synod's Act it was usual to send him to the seventeenth century equivalent

1. MS. Auchtermuchty K.S. 9/12/1649. 2. MS. Kilrenny K.S. 25/11/1651. The long debate about the location of the school at Scotlandwell in the next century brings out the difficulties of winter travel. 3. MS. Dysart B.R. 5/2/1655. 4. On 26/2/1641, re-enacting former laudable acts. Shearer, p.242. 5. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 23/11/1674 - re-enacting "all former acts". 6. MS. Cupar B.R. 2/3/1644 - "confirming all former acts"; MS. Dysart B.R. 13/9/1647; MS. Pittenweem K.S. (in P.R.) 16/4/1650.

of a dame school before sending him to the burgh school. We even find the doctor of a grammar school conducting preparatory classes. In 1647, Mr. Craig, Precentor of Dysart, was given permission to accept "young ones within the age of eight yeires that are not able or meitt to goe to the Grammar Schoole to be educat be him in Literature till they attaine such age and abilitie". (1) In the parishes, where the masters needed all they could get for teaching the elementary branches in addition to any fees for teaching "the grammar", this was not the custom. But even here there was some slight variation - and nowhere is so low an age as five ever mentioned. In Kilrenny children "how soon they are able to travell" were to be put to school. (2) In Dunino school was to begin when the child reached seven years; in Wemyss when he was "past seven yeires" and had achieved "breeches and short cloathes"; (3) and the Aberdour Kirk Session (in 1661) ordered that "all the lads from six years old and upward" were to be put to school. (4) What of the school leaving age? Since the age of entry to the University was anywhere between eleven and sixteen, it is obvious that for the minority who were to continue their formal education beyond the grammar school, the school leaving age could be as low as eleven years. For the remainder of the population, if they attended school at all, six years attendance would be regarded as a long school life. The attempt by Pittenweem Kirk Session to fix the leaving age at sixteen (if we so interpret their instruction to the officers to take up a roll of all children between the ages of eight and sixteen) is quite exceptional. In 1647 the Synod was satisfied with attendance to the age of ten. Shortly after the

1. MS. Dysart B.R. 13/9/1647. How did Craig find time for this? Had he ceased to be doctor? It is possible, but unlikely, that there were two Mr James Craigs in Dysart in 1647 - one the doctor, the other the precentor.
2. MS. Kilrenny K.S. 27/5/1649. 3. In 1643 - N.S.A. Dunino; MS. Wemyss K.S. 13/5/1647; but in 21/3/1652 only "past seven yeires". 4. MS. Aberdour K.S. 15/1/1661.

Restoration Balmerino Kirk Session ordered that children were to remain at school "winter and summer" until "they could read and know the grounds of religion" (which meant bark at print and repeat from memory the answers of the Shorter Catechism). (1) The record of payments for "poor scholars" shows that for them even five years attendance was exceptional. In Kennoway Thomas Thomsone was held at the school from the 9th November, 1658, to 14th March, 1664; John Cunningham, from 9th March 1660 to 2nd November 1665; and Alison Macneill, from 2nd March 1664 to 25th February 1666. (2) In Aberdour the Session paid for Henry Tyrie's schooling "from his entrie" on 4th July 1659 to April 1664; and for Hanet Robertson "from her entrie" on 14th October 1659 to 22nd April 1662. (3) Thomas Thomsone's five and a half years attendance is the longest we encounter. Far more common than even the three and four years of the other poor scholars mentioned are periods of one and two years. (4) And these poor scholars were at least as likely to have what was considered a reasonable period of schooling as the children of the poor who were not poor enough to be helped from "the box"; for over these parents who were dependent on the Kirk's charity the Minister and Session had a hold greater than exhortation and rebuke - their supplies could be cut off. (5) These others - many, as the records show - who had to be driven to put their children to school would remove them at the earliest opportunity; children of ten were valuable workers, after all.

1. Campbell, p.414. 2. MS. Kennoway K.S. Cash Book. 3. MS. Aberdour K.S. 1658 to 1664 passim. 4. Unfortunately, very few of the parishes have left records of disbursements sufficiently detailed to allow this kind of examination. But the uniformity encouraged by Presbyterial visitations, and the interest of Aberdour & Kennoway in what was done elsewhere, make it safe to assume that if the records were less scanty, the results would be the same. 5. MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 20/9/1664 - "Ja; Shaw appointed to send his chyld to the schoole, or other wayes not to expect to be supplied again".

The second question - what proportion of the children in the county were caught in the educational net? - cannot be answered directly. It is plain that from 1560 to 1660 there was a fairly steady increase in the numbers of schoolmasters; that the pressure to put children to school increased; and that more school buildings were to be found. Yet in 1656, in a parish able to provide a school docter to assist the master and vigorous in its attempts to have all its bairns put to school, we find that "John Andersone has both sons and daughters marriageable almost and knows not the grounds of religion And that thair parents has not the means to bring them to anie knowledge, who are altogether careles in putting them to schooles". (1) Though indeed this should not surprise us. Many who are educable slip through the meshes of the twentieth century welfare state's net; it cannot be doubted that there were many John Andersones throughout the shire; it is indeed the effort to track them down and compel them to see to their children's schooling that is a mark of progress. For it was in this same town of Aberdour that the "maist part of the honest men", nineteen in all, could produce only nine signatures between them, a century before. (2) Between then and 1660 there was a marked increase in literacy. In 1638, it is true, only 27 out of 68 who "took" the National Covenant in Ceres were able to write their names. (3) But in 1659 the Dysart Town Council achieved a much better performance - 17 signed and four made their mark. (4) Later figures show the same trend. In 1678 heritors and Town Councillors (men, that is to say, who would have attended school, if at all, 20 or 30 years before) were asked to subscribe bonds of security and the like. In the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy four heritors out of 75 could not write; in the

1. MS. Aberdour K.S. 21/10/1656. 2. Reg. St.Andrews, p.56.

3. MS. Ceres P.R. 6/4/1638. 4. MS. Dysart B.R. 10/10/1659.

Presbytery of St. Andrews two out of 75; (1) in the Presbytery of Dunfermline five noblemen and heritors out of 58. (2) In the burghs four Town Councillors of Anstruther Wester could not sign, 11 could; in Auchtermuchty 15, out of 39; in Cupar two, out of 25; in Dysart two out of 24; in Kirkcaldy three out of 24; in Kinghorn three Town Councillors and Burgesses out of 17; in Inverkeithing two out of 13; and in Newburgh 17 out of 48. But in three burghs, Burntisland, Crail and Falkland, all the candidates passed this simple educational test. (3) These were the leaders of the community; it is certain that lower down the scale results would have been poorer; and it is certain that there was much to do before the educational ideals of the First Book of Discipline could be realised. (4)

1. R.P.C. 3rd Series, Vol.V. p.632,633.
2. R.P.C. 3rd Series, Vol.V. ~~pp.632-639~~ p.638.
3. R.P.C. 3rd Series, Vol.V. pp.638-639 & 650.
4. Smart - "Shakespeare, Truth & Tradition" - has shown that in Shakespeare's England it was common enough for those who could write to make their mark. In the cases above however we have the statement - "cannot write".

The Schoolmaster's Living.

The struggles of Kirk and Magistrates to supply every parish with at least a parochial school form only one part of the history of education; at least as important is the story of the changing fortunes of the Schoolmaster - burgh, parochial, and adventure - between 1560 and 1660. His income (as schoolmaster and holder of posts associated with schoolmastering), his security of tenure, his prospects in sickness and old age - these and related matters, some of which have been dealt with briefly and incidentally so far, will be the subject of this chapter. (1)

The teacher's material rewards for his labours came to him in cash and kind. In the burghs - as indeed in the landward parishes, but since there were important differences between the schoolmaster's living in one of the larger burghs and his living in the majority of landward parishes, it is best to treat burgh and parochial schoolmasters separately - the schoolmaster's (and schooldoctor's) cash income came to him in three portions. First was his salary; second, his share of the school fees and such contributions from the pupils as New Year and Easter gifts; and third, his receipts - both stipend and fees - for his activities in these posts which he normally, but not invariably, held in connection with his chief employment. (There were, of course, other more or less profitable occupations not tied to his official post with which he might fill his scanty leisure - notary public was one (2) - but with these we need not concern ourselves.) Of his various payments in kind, some he

1. A certain amount of repetition will be inevitable if this chapter is to be reasonably complete, as we use material which has already been used for a different purpose. 2. e.g. Carswell, Schoolmaster of Auchtermachty.

might look to have from year to year; others, such as "the twenty merkis to buy ane gowne and other necessarys" given to the schoolmaster of Kirkcaldy in 1592, (1) he could regard only as the rare exercise of an undependable generosity.

Of the various cash payments, the most regular - in intention at least - and the least subject to fluctuation, was the schoolmaster's salary for teaching - his "standing fee". Most consistent of the contributors - moved by civic pride or bullied by Kirk and State - were the Town Councils, who paid from the burgh Common Good. Then there were the contributions from the heritors. Not every burgh was assisted in this way: nor in those burghs where the heritors paid did they continue to pay throughout the period. The heritors' contributions, as the experience of the Kirkcaldy Presbytery from 1630 to 1650 makes very clear, were most grudgingly paid; and when the taxing authority's back was turned, were no doubt discontinued. What help, if any, the heritors gave the burghs before 1600 is not known. It is probable, however, that before 1616 - that is before the Privy Council's Act "Appointing a school to be in every parish", with its provisions for stenting the parishioners - some attempt was made to get something from the heritors even in the burghs; so, at least, we may interpret the stenting of the heritors of Abdie (which included the burgh of Newburgh), in 1611. (2) But if for a few years the heritors did pay a proportion of the schoolmasters' salaries in many of the burghs, it is clear that by 1633 their payments had ceased,

1. Macbean, p.145. A "stand of claitheis" was given to the school doctor of Kirkcaldy many years later. J.Campbell, op.cit., p.83.

2. MS. Fife Synod, 2/9/1611.

and in 1636 the Presbyteries had all to do again. (1) The salaries fixed in that year for the burgh schoolmasters of Kirkcaldy, Burntisland, Dysart and Kinghorn - 300 merks in each case (2) - included 150 merks from the heritors of Kinghorn and 100 merks from the heritors of the other burghs. (3) It is possible that similar action was taken by the other Presbyteries; nonetheless there is no evidence that the schoolmasters of Dunfermline, Crail, St. Andrews, and Cupar ever received anything from this source. (4) Then, during the troubled years after the temporary overthrow of Episcopacy, some of the heritors who had been contributing to the burgh school salaries ceased to pay. Between 1640 and 1660 the Kirk made a considerable effort to obtain a resumption of payment, though with what success we do not know. (5) Yet, although these payments were far from steady, they cannot be left out of account; and at times they would supplement agreeably the sums delivered to the schoolmaster by the Burgh Treasurer.

The third contributor to the master's salary - but again only in certain of the burghs; at no time in Dunfermline, Cupar, Crail and St. Andrews - was the Kirk Session. In some burghs - Pittenweem for example, between 1640 and 1660 - they took over the whole burden of the

1. See above, pp.53-58 for Kirkcaldy. In MS. St.Andrews Pres. 24/10/1710, is a reference to a visitation by the Archdeacon of St.Andrews to Anstruther Easter on 17/3/1636, at which the heritors were appointed to pay £100 of salary. 2. Unless otherwise stated, all figures for salaries etc. are £s or merks Scots. 3. See above, pp.53-58. 4. On the other hand the schoolmaster of Culross was paid £30 "by the land" - i.e. by the heritors - out of a total salary of £100 in 1647. (MS. Culross K.S. 22/6/1647) Was a similar payment made earlier? In 1675, when the Education Law was that of 1633, the schoolmaster of Inverkeithing had £40 from the burgh and £80 from the heritors. Stephen, History, p.390. 5. e.g. in Burntisland (Stevenson, Presbytrie Book 15/6/1642 & 23/6/1647) & Kinghorn (Ibid 18/5/1642). In 1656 the Presbytery of Dunfermline recommended the Session to see that Mr John Wemyss, Schoolmaster of Inverkeithing, was "payit his provision especiallie that 20 merks payit furth of the regalitie of Dunfermline". MS. Dunfermline Pres. 9/7/1656.

schoolmaster's salary and gained control of the school. (1) In Kirkcaldy, too, for a time they paid the schoolmaster and his doctor "out of the box", when the burgh was in financial straits. (2) These payments, however, were in lieu of a salary from the Common Good. We are concerned here rather with the grants the Session made to supplement the salary the burgh paid. Such was the £50 per annum which the Session "was wont to pay the schoolmaster" of Burntisland. (3) Such was the annual payment - £40 from 1609 to 1640, £50 thereafter - which the Kinghorn Kirk Session made to the "schoolmaster and session clerk". (4) And such, possibly, was the payment which the Session made to the schoolmaster of Anstruther Easter towards the end of this period. (5)

Naturally, because the total salary could come from one or all of these sources, and because conditions varied so much from burgh to burgh, and in spite of the attempts at standardisation in the two periods 1610 to 1612, and 1636 to 1640, there was great variation in the level of salaries from burgh to burgh. But from an examination of the tantalisingly incomplete figures, three main points do emerge. In the first place, the salary which Kirkcaldy Presbytery tried to impose on the larger burghs - in the years 1636 to 1640 - £200 - was far greater than the vast majority of burghs in the county were prepared to pay. Only Cupar paid as much as that for any length of time. Secondly, although there had been very

1. MS. Pittenweem K.S. 1640-1660 passim. 2. Stevenson, Presbytrie Book, 2/10/1650. 3. MS. Burntisland B.R. 16/11/1668. 4. Kinghorn Extracts, pp. 32 & 40. 5. MS. Anstruther K.S. (in P.R.) 16/12/1651. The payment here was a pension to the late schoolmaster. It was paid until 1654 at least (Ibid 7/3/1654). That the Session should pay (? part of) the pension indicates that they had contributed to the salary before his retiral. On the other hand the amount of the pension - £80 per annum - and the fact that in 1661 there was "no settled maintenance" probably means that the Session had to pay the whole salary. (MS. St. Andrews Pres. 6/3/1661.)

great variation earlier, and there still were marked differences from burgh to burgh in 1660 and thereabouts, nonetheless salaries in the majority of burghs which yield us complete figures were then tending to approach the £100 mark. Burntisland, Crail, Culross and Dunfermline all paid £100 per annum. Dysart paid £80 per annum in 1646; and Kinghorn £93-6-8d (including £40 from the Kirk Session). And finally we note the increase in schoolmasters' salaries over the period; an increase exemplified by Cupar, where the salary rose from £40 per annum in 1575 to £200 per annum in 1664; and by Kinghorn, where £13-6-8d per annum was paid from the Common Good in 1575, and £53-6-8d in 1664 - an increase corresponding to a trend throughout the country. (1)

Not all the burghs increased their salaries as much as this. Between 1596 and 1664 the salary in Burntisland rose from 100 merks (which was for acting as schoolmaster and Reader) to £100. Dysart paid the same salary - £66-13-4d - in 1600 and in 1664; and in Kirkcaldy there was possibly a fall between 1588 and 1664, while the salary in 1675 was only £120. (2)

Such a slow rate of increase meant that, in regard to salaries at least, the schoolmaster's position in these burghs was worsening; for between 1560 and 1600 the prices of essential foodstuffs increased threefold, and between 1600 and 1660 by about 40 per cent. In very broad terms - we must remember that there were often violent fluctuations in prices from year to year or even from season to season -

1. See Grant, p.454 et seq for rest of Scotland. Cf. J.A.Russel - "History of Education in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright", pp.120-122. The salary of the schoolmaster of Kirkcudbright Grammar School rose from 20 merks in 1576 to 100 merks in 1620 and 200 merks in 1689.
2. See the Table of Salaries for these figures, and for references.

the cost of living rose between four and five times from 1560 to 1660. (1)

Before we go on to compute how much the schoolmaster received from his other sources of income, it is helpful to compare his salary with the salaries and wages of other occupations in that period. In 1560 the average ministerial stipend was 200 merks; (2) in the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy, during the period 1636 to 1653, it was £360 (or 540) merks). (3) In 1654 the Earl of Wemyss paid his domestic

1. The figure for the increase between 1560 and 1600 is taken from J. Clapham, "Concise Economic History of Great Britain", (O.U.P. 19) p.186. The other figures have been worked out from the prices of foodstuffs in "Thirde of Benefices", ed. Gordon Donaldson (S.H.S. 1949) pp. 64, 69, 75, 76 & 237-239. These prices may be compared:- Oats, £4 the boll in Dunfermline in 1606 (Shearer, p.33) and £5-10/- to £6-13-4d in Haddington in 1659 ("Edinburgh Burgh Records", ed. M.Wood, Vol.9). Bere:- 20/- to 34/- in 1563-8, and £5 in 1612 - both in Fife. (Shearer, p.95, and Donaldson, op.cit. p.237-239), and £7 - £8 in Haddington in 1659. On the fluctuation of prices, see Lamont, p.107, where he mentions that bere, oats, and pease, which sold in early 1653 for £11-£13 the boll, sold for £4-£4-10/- the boll after the harvest.

2. G. Donaldson, op.cit. Intro. p.xxii.

3. Stevenson, Presbytrie Book, Intro. p.xiii.

chaplain £200 per annum, his underporter £20, and his coachman £60 and his clothes. (1) In 1629 the Burgh of Dunfermline paid a mason 12/- a day, and a sheepshearer 3/4d; (2) and in 1671 a collier's wages, in the same burgh, were between 6/- and 10/- per day. (3)

1. "Scottish Diaries and Memoirs", 1550-1746," ed. J.G.Fyfe, (Stirling, 1928) p.126. Porter and coachman would of course also receive their board.

2. Shearer, p.163. As another illustration of rising wages, note that a sheepshearer was paid 4/- per day in 1641.

3. E. Henderson, "Annals of Dunfermline", (Glasgow 1879) p.344. What were these sums worth in terms of present day sterling? Obviously only a very rough and ready answer can be given, especially to-day, when inflation is rampant. But accepting G. Donaldson's estimate (op.cit., Intro. p.xxii) that the merk of 1560 was equivalent to £2 sterling of 1949, and the other estimates that have been given above for the decrease in the value of money between 1560 and 1660, we arrive at these equations:-

- (i) 1 merk (1560) = 13/4d Scots (1560) = £2 sterling 1949.
- (ii) 3 merks (1600) = £2 Scots (1600) = £2 sterling 1949.
- (iii) 4 merks (1660) = £2-13-4 Scots (1660) = approx. £2 sterling 1949.

or £1 Scots 1660 = 15/- sterling 1949.

TABLE OF SALARIES IN BURGH SCHOOLS 1560 - 1660.

1. Reg		
2. MS.	CULROSS:	1589 - 200 merks, as Rector and Schoolmaster; (1) 1647 - £100; (2) 1667 - £100.
3. Ste		
4. In	DUNFERMLINE:	1610 to 1660 - £100. Queen Anne's Mortification.
5. Bur	INVERKEITHING:	1616 - £33.6s.8d (3) 1628 - £33.6s.8d, Reader and Schoolmaster; 1664 - £40 (and ? £30 from heritors (4))
6. A.S		
7. MS.	BURNTISLAND:	1612 - £33.6s.8d 1633 - £66.13s.4d (and £33.6s.8d from K.S.) (5) 1664 - £100.
8. Ibd		
9. Kir	DYSART:	1600 - 100 merks; (6) 1628 - £30, "Reider"; 1634 - £50; 1646 - £30; (7) 1650 - 300 merks; (8) 1664 - £66.13s.4d.
10. It		
11. Me	KINGHORN:	1575 - £13.6s.8d; 1628 - £53.6s.8d (and £40 K.S.) (9) 1640 - £53.6s.8d (and £50 K.S.) (10); 1664 - £53.6s.8d (? and £50 K.S.)
12. Pr		
13. Th	KIRKCALDY:	1588 - £30; (11) 1636 - 300 merks (appointed by Presbytery) (12) 1664 - £48 from Common Good (and ?? from Casualties) (13)
14. MS	CUPAR:	1575 - £40; 1628 - £100; 1666 - £200. (14)
15. Co	ANSTRUTHER EASTER:	1633 - £40 (and ?? from K.S.)
16. Gr	ANSTRUTHER WESTER:	1664 - £33.6s.8d
17. MS		
18. It	CRAIL:	1621 - 100 merks; (15) 1628 - £100; 1664 - £113.13s.4d. (16)
19. MS		
20. Gr	PITTENWEEM:	1640-1648 - 100 merks; (17) 1653 - 200 merks; (18) 1677 - 200 merks. (19)
	ST. ANDREWS:	1626 & 1633 - £166.13s.4d; 1669 - £125. (20)

(Except where otherwise stated, authority is the Common Good of the various burghs, in Register House, Edinburgh)

Footnotes on following page:

One further point must be made concerning the schoolmaster's salary. It was sometimes subject to deductions. There was, for example, the payment the schoolmaster of Dunfermline had to make to the Town Council for the privilege of living in a newly repaired school - all as the annual rent of "the hundred and ten pounds money bestowed upon repairing of the school". (1) This burden, it is true, was not a permanent one; in 1619 "the Consaill ... for sundrie guid respectis moving thame and for the love they carie towards Mr James Sibbald thair schoolmaster" relieved him of the payment. (2) But its imposition shows how a salary could be eaten into. And there were other charges that the schoolmaster might have to meet. It will be remembered that in 1582 the schoolmaster of Kirkcaldy had agreed to employ a doctor, if the numbers of his pupils made it necessary, "upon his chairgis", (3) though whether he ever did employ a doctor is not known. His successors in many cases did have doctors; but although as late as 1675 the doctors seem to have received no regular stipend, but only house mail and the occasional cloak from the Town Council, there is no indication that the schoolmaster had to pay him a salary. But if the schoolmaster of Kirkcaldy escaped, the master of St. Andrews - at least towards the end of our period - had to provide for his doctor "out of the old 50 merks" by which, at some time before 1658, his salary had been augmented. The doctor did in fact receive 50 merks yearly from the Council but, as they were careful to point out, only as a gratuity. (4)

1. Shearer, p.122. 2. Ibid. 3. Macbean, p.71. At one time, as already mentioned, the doctor was paid "out of the box" (Stevenson, Presbytrie Book, 27/3/1650). The doctor seems to have been paid by giving him a share of the casualties of baptism & marriage (MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 5/2/1666, & J. Campbell, op.cit. p.83). He had, of course, his third share of the school fees (MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 23/11/1674 & J. Campbell, op.cit. p.83). 4. MS. St. Andrews B.R. 16/9/1658. In Inverkeithing as late as 1675 it may have been the Town Council's intention that the schoolmaster should pay the doctor's salary, but this is not clear from the terms used. (Stephen History, p.390.)

This method of supporting the doctor does not, however, seem to have been very common. Even where there was every excuse for making his maintenance a charge on the schoolmaster (as in Kinghorn, where the Reader-Schoolmaster was unable to attend to his school because of his duties as Reader, and a doctor was employed, on the recommendation of the Presbytery, to look after the school) - even there the doctor was given a salary not by the schoolmaster but out of the Session box "seeing it (was) pious uses". (1) In some other burghs the Town Council paid the doctor out of the Common Good. In Cupar the doctors of both Grammar and Sang Schools were paid a salary from that fund. (2) In Dunfermline the doctor had no salary before 1620; thereafter he was paid by Kirk Session and Town Council an "annual standing fee" of, at first, 50 merks (25 from the Kirk money and Session Box and 25 from the Common Good); in return he had to teach (or take his share in teaching), gratis, "sundrie bairns in the schooll quhas parents (were) pure". (3)

The schooldoctors' salaries, when paid at all, show, if anything, even greater variation than those of the schoolmasters. For example, the 25 merks paid by the Kirk Session of Dunfermline was fairly soon augmented; by 1640 it had risen to £33-6s-8d, and often he was given "ane dollor more". (4) It is not certain whether the Town Council had cut down their contribution by that time; but they continued to share responsibility for the appointment. The Cupar doctor's salary rose from £13-6s-8d in 1581 to £73-6s-8d in 1659; the Crail doctor in

1. Stevenson, Presbytrie Book, 11/6/1640. 2. MS. Common Good, Cupar. The Grammar school doctor was paid from 1581 onwards; the doctor of the Sang school from 1626 - for how long is not known. 3. Shearer, p.129. 4. Dunfermline Extracts, 10/11/1640; 1/6/1645; 9/6/1646; 10/3/1649. A rix dollar was worth from 54s to 58s.

1663 had £33-6s-8d from the Common Good; (1) Dysart, in 1663, was paying £46; and Kinghorn (which, as we have just seen, had to fall back on the Session box in 1640) in 1633 paid its schooldoctor £49 from the Common Good. (2)

These then were the salaries that the schoolmasters and school doctors might expect to receive - if they took steps to guard their interests. For even with a salary assigned to him - agreed at his entry, augmented it might be by his employers, or settled by the Presbytery - the schoolmaster (and his assistant) had to ensure that it was paid fully, regularly, and (though this might be too much to hope for) promptly. To do this was not always easy, as the records amply attest. Thrice between 1588 and 1594 the schoolmaster of Crail invoked the aid of the law to obtain that part of his salary which should have come to him from the original endowment of the Grammar School. (3) And at least once in the seventeenth century - in 1625 - the bailies of Crail refused to hand over the salary they had promised to pay from the Common Good until the schoolmaster, who had gone to the neighbouring burgh of Anstruther, no doubt in disgust, obtained a decret against them. (4) In 1660 the burgh of Cupar, as we have seen, owed its late schoolmaster almost two years' salary. (5) By 1664 the burgh of Dunfermline was behindhand too, it would appear, in its payments: (6) so that even a "mortified" salary does not seem to have been safe.

1. By 1670 the Kirk Session was paying the doctor a salary of £10 as school doctor. It is not known if they were making a similar payment earlier. MS. Crail K.S. 11/1/1670. 2. For salaries paid from the Common Good, see Common Good of the various burghs, & MS. Dysart B.R. 28/11/1662. The Dysart doctor's salary dropped to £28 in 1664 - Common Good, Dysart. 3. Conolly, pp.156,157. 4. Ibid, p.164. 5. MS. Cupar B.R. 4/12/1660. 6. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 26/11/1664.

And a year later, in the same burgh, the Sang Schoolmaster's salary (likewise derived from Queen Anne's mortification) was cut from £80 to £60 without any negotiation; and it needed nearly two years of protest before he was "satisfied ... of bygones" - and then only on condition that he accepted the smaller figure in future. (1)

If these difficulties arose in the wealthier and more powerful burghs in times of stress and financial stringency, it is probable that they arose too in the smaller. But we must not paint the picture in over-sombre hues. It would be wrong to suggest that every burgh schoolmaster throughout his career secured his salary only after prolonged tussles with his employers. The schoolmasters of St. Andrews, as far as we can tell, drew their dues regularly and without fuss. (2) And for much of the period covered by the records that was true also of the masters in Cupar, Dunfermline, and Kirkcaldy.

As important to the schoolmaster as his salary was that part of his income which he derived from the school fees. Indeed when we take those fees into account, the gap (already noted) between schoolmaster's and minister's stipends is, though by no means filled, considerably narrowed. (3) For the fees, paid quarterly by all the parents (except the very poor - and then paid for those by Kirk or Burgh) who had children at the school, belonged entirely to the schoolmaster and his assistant.

1. Shearer, p.283. 2. St. Andrews B.R. - Receipts for stipends paid from Whit 1602 to 25/2/1620. 3. A very clear indication of just how important the fees were to the schoolmaster at the beginning of our period, for a place outside our county, comes from the Edinburgh Burgh Records. In 1568 the T.C. agreed to give their schoolmaster a salary of 50 merks, and if this plus the fees (4s. p.q.) did not amount to 300 merks in his first year, to give him 50 merks more. (Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, Vol.III, p.251.

Nor were they, in comparison with other charges, particularly low. Like the salaries, they varied from place to place; and like all prices at that period they increased sharply from 1550 to 1660. Thus, in Kirkcaldy in 1582 the quarterly fees were 4s; a few years later they were 5s; (1) by 1619 they had risen to 16s; (2) and by 1674 were 30s for Latin or Arithmetic, and 20s for English. (3) In Dysart in 1588 they were 6s.8d; in 1646 they were 16s; in 1648, 13s.4d; in 1653, 18s; and in 1658, back to 13s.4d. (4) In Anstruther the fees were 10s per quarter between 1595 and 1600 (but for poor scholars the schoolmaster received only 5s from the Session). (5) What they were later we do not know. Culross charges from 1653 were 18s per quarter (but 10s for poor scholars); (6) and Pittenweem parents were charged 10s per quarter in 1642. (7) From 1650 to 1660 the fees were 10s in Dunfermline (at least for poor scholars), in Auchtermuchty, and in Falkland. In Cupar the fees were 12s per quarter, in Inverkeithing, 13s.4d. (8) These were the fees charged for "toun bairnes"; outsiders, who were more profitable, were apparently charged according to the fancy of the schoolmaster and not, as in some places, according to a scale drawn up

1. Macbean, pp. 71 & 130. 2. Campbell, "Church & Parish of Kirkcaldy", p.83. 3. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 23/11/1674. 4. A.S.Cunningham, "Dysart Past & Present" (Leven 1912) p.54; MS. Dysart B.R. 29/5/1646, 3/11/1648, 7/3/1653, & 6/12/1658. 5. MS. Anstruther Wester K.S. (in P.R.) 18/3/1596 & 9/7/1600. 6. MS. Culross K.S. 24/5/1653, 11/10/1653, & 13/6/1654. 7. Assuming that the doctor's share (3s.4d) was the usual one-third. MS. Pittenweem K.S. 31/8/1642. 8. Dunfermline Extracts, p.25; MS. Auchtermuchty K.S. 30/3/1651 & 24/2/1656 (taking Auchtermuchty as a burgh school); MS. Falkland K.S. (in P.R.) 15/2/1663; MS. Cupar B.R. 13/11/1661; Stephen, History, p.389 (for 1675). With these and earlier figures, compare the only figures we have for a Sang School - 6s.8d per quarter in 1623, 10s per quarter in 1627 - in Dunfermline. (Shearer, pp. 140 & 157). Add MS. Dunfermline K.S. 29/5/1649, 7/8/1649, 29/3/1653, & 15/3/1659; in 1661 the fees in Dunfermline were only 6s.8d - Ibid 12/2/1661.

by the Town Councils. (1)

Arrangements for the payment of the fees of "poor scholars" varied. In Dunfermline the doctor - but not the schoolmaster - received no fees for poor scholars. In return for the salary which was paid after 1620, it will be remembered, he had to teach the "poor scholars gratis". (2) In Crail (certainly by 1669, and probably before that) the schoolmaster was paid a "standing fee" of £10 per annum by the Session for the poor scholars; (3) and in Pittenweem from 1640 to 1646 the schoolmaster received £10 per annum, and after 1646 £20 per annum for "learning the poore". (4) How many other burghs adopted this plan is not known; but the Dunfermline, Culross and Anstruther Wester schoolmasters were all paid, at one time or another, according to the number of poor children they taught. (5) In Anstruther Wester, however, for a time at least, this method of payment was modified by a system of payment by results. In 1600 it was laid down that the Session should "try the perfiting" of the "pure bairnes", and "sa cause recompens" the school-doctor " according to his paines and ther perfiting; and as for uther that are not able to perfit that they may reid or wret, whidder it be for want of ingyne or tyn to await on, sic sall be caused to learn the Lordes prayer, the Comandes, and belev, the heades of the catechisme, that are demanded on the examination to the communion, quhilk travell also the session will acknowledge and recompense". (6)

1. Note the phrase "reservand his advantage off the contre bairnis" (Kirkcaldy B.R. 1582) quoted above, p.15. cf. Edinburgh in 1579 (Extracts from the Burgh Records, Vol.IV, p.106). Dunfermline T.C. in 1627, fixing the Sang School fees, adds "of everie tounne bairne". But in South Leith the fees for "tounne bairnes" (25s Latin, 10s Reading & Writing) and for "bairnos that comes into the tounne" (36s.8d) were both laid down by the Kirk Session. "South Leith Records", ed. D.Robertson (Edin.1911) p.18.
2. Shearer, p.129. 3. MS. Crail K.S. 6/9/1670, & see MS. Crail K.S. (in P.R.) 20/1/1685. 4. MS. Pittenweem K.S. 19/10/1641; 8/7/1645 and passim to 28/11/1648. 5. Refs. as above. 6. MS. Anstruther W. K.S.(in P.R.) 7/9/1600 - Quoted by McGrie - "Life of Andrew Melville", p.472.

The schoolmaster's share of the school fees - generally two thirds, but sometimes a little less, more often a little more (1) - were worth a considerable amount to him. In 1642 the Kirk Session of Pittenweem guaranteed that their schooldoctor's share of the fees would bring him in 40 merks per annum, which indicates that the master's share would be not less than 80 merks; and in 1646 they reckoned that the schoolmaster's fees "of abill pupils" (i.e. those whose parents could pay) were worth £30 per annum, with a further £20 for "the indigent". (2)

In a flourishing burgh school in the twenty years before the Restoration, the schoolmaster would expect to receive at least £100 from this source - i.e. an additional sum equal to his salary. It is not surprising that the schoolmaster and his assistant complained bitterly of the competition of adventure schoolmasters; not surprising that the magistrates came to their assistance when the numbers at the Burgh School began to fall off.

But perhaps even more galling to the schoolmaster than not receiving fees because the attendance at his school was smaller than he had reason to hope for, was a failure to get his fees from the parents of

1. Two thirds to the master, one third to the doctor, in Burntisland in 1635 (Burgh Schools Report, p.95), Culross (MS. Culross K.S. 24/5/1653) and Kirkcaldy in 1674 (MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 23/11/1674). In 1619 the Kirkcaldy schoolmaster took 12s, his assistant 4s (J. Campbell, op.cit. p.83). In Dysart the proportions varied from time to time. In 1646 they were 10s and 6s; in 1648 9s and 4s.4d; in 1653 12s and 6s; in 1658 10s and 3s.4d. (MS. Dysart B.R. 29/5/1646, 3/11/1648, 7/3/1653 and 6/12/1658.) Note the phrase "the ordinarie dewes" for the doctor's share in Dunfermline in 1620 (Shearer, p.129) and Cupar (MS. Cupar B.R. 5/2/1662).

2. MS. Pittenweem K.S. 21/8/1642 and 4/10/1646.

the children he had taught. And that, it was plain, happened all too often. It was a wise Town Council which sought to obviate it by laying down - as, for example, the magistrates of Kirkcaldy laid down - that fees should be paid in advance; (1) but even this might not be sufficient. Kirkcaldy indeed had to promise that the bailies would "interpone thair authoritie ordinar quarterlie, for reddy payment to be made". (2) And the bailies, if not in Kirkcaldy, certainly in several of the Fife burghs, had to interpone their authority in this good cause, sometimes after the schoolmaster had pursued his debtors in the Burgh Court, sometimes after a complaint of master and doctor to the Town Council. In every generation the trouble recurred. In 1579 Janet Chapman of Dysart was decerned to pay 12s to the schoolmaster for "learning her bairns". (3) In 1607 the Dunfermline Town Council ordained (under penalty of a 40s fine) all the "nyctbours havand bairnis at the school to satisfie the Master and Doctor of thair quarter payment for this last Hallowmas term and all terms preceidant within aught dayes". (4) And in 1643 the Dunfermline Burgh Court ordered that the schoolmaster should be paid the 53s.4d of fees which "was restand awand to him ane lang tyme bygane". (5)

One last cash payment from the school-children (i.e. from their parents) must be mentioned; a payment which, if it came at all, would come promptly: that is the payment of New Year and Candlemas silver.

1. In 1582. Macbean, p.72. This, as Grant has shown, was not unusual throughout the country. (Grant, p.467) In Pittenweem at one time the Kirk Session even ruled that "elders who hes bairnes at schoole" were to pay a year's fees in advance - MS. Pittenweem K.S. (in P.R.) 31/12/1644.
2. Macbean, p.72. See also MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 3/5/1585 - "Bailies to poind the bairnes frelie that refuses to pay". 3. Grant, p.471.
4. Shearer, p.42. 5. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 1/6/1643. One other example may be given - in Pittenweem in 1642 a parent was decerned to pay the fees he owed the schoolmaster. (Annals of Pittenweem, p.48)

It is extremely probable that the custom, so widespread in seventeenth century Scotland, (1) was established in the burgh schools of Fife at least by 1660, although the earliest reference to the custom there is in 1724: in that year the Town Council of Kirkcaldy drew up new rules for the payment of "the ordinary gratification paid at Candlemas". (2) Certainly in Cupar late in the next century the handing over of these gifts was regarded as an age long tradition; and there were careful rules to regulate the division of the proceeds between master and doctor. (3) In St. Andrews, Cupar, and Dunfermline, where gentlemen's sons - and even the sons of the nobility - attended the school (4) such a custom, with its rivalry in ostentatious giving, would make Hansel Monday and the 2nd of February glorious days for the schoolmaster and his assistant. But the evidence for the period 1560 to 1660 is slight; and we shall return to this subject more fully in the later periods.

Cock fighting no doubt presented another source of income to the masters in our period. Graham has given a superb picture of this custom: how the boys who could afford it fetched a cock to the school on Fastern's E'en to be pitted against a rival in the schoolroom, on payment of a fee to the master; how the slain were dragged from the arena to the master's cooking pot; and how the "fugies", those cocks that would not stay the course, were tied to a stake and stoned (for a fee, again paid to the master) and likewise joined the other birds on the master's table. (5) The custom flourished in the Fife burgh schools in the first half of the eighteenth century; in 1755 it brought an income to the master of St. Andrews

1. Grant, p.473. For a payment by a boarder at Tynningham School in 1645 - see S.H.R. Vol.XXX, No.110, p.150. 2. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 27/7/1724. 3. MS. Cupar B.R. 27/4/1774 & 1/5/1775. 4. "the rest of the nobles who are schollers" in Dunfermline G.S. in 1685. (Dunfermline Extracts 13/9/1685) 5. "Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century" (1906 ed.) p.454.

Grammar School large enough to be taken into account in fixing the salary of a second doctor for the school; (1) was not given up in Kinghorn until 1768; and lingered on in Cupar until 1806 - long after it had disappeared almost everywhere else as a feature of the school year. As late as that, we may note, the contest of socks was reckoned to be worth £2.2s sterling to the Cupar schoolmaster. (2) Our direct evidence again is all from a later period than the seventeenth century; but we may safely conclude that in most of the Fife grammar schools, when attendance was high, there would be a considerable accession to the master's income from this source. (3)

Cock fighting meant a contribution to the schoolmaster which was partly in cash and partly in kind. Of payments wholly in kind the commonest was "chalmer mail". Throughout the period the major burghs recognised their duty to provide not only "ane sufficient rowme housse" for the school, but also accommodation for the schoolmaster. The simplest method was to acquire or build a dwelling, in one part of which the master would live and in another part of which he would teach. Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, and Burntisland, the first two before 1590, and the third from 1620, each owned a combined school and schoolhouse, where the master's dwelling was above the school. (4) But where there was no special dwelling house for the master, the Town Council or the Kirk Session gave him the rent for one. In 1574 and 1576, for example, the Crail authorities

1. MS. St. Andrews B.R. 27/6/1755. 2. MS. Cupar B.R. 26/3/1806.
3. Mr. William Coldstream, schoolmaster of Dunblane, and ex-doctor of Crail, had 70 cocks entered in his contest in 1753. Dunblane is not Crail but Coldstream seems the kind of man who would have had the business well organised when he was in his former post. - Barty, "History of Dunblane" (Stirling, 1944) pp.187,188. 4. Macbean, p.117 (for Kirkcaldy). For Dunfermline see above p.14; repairs were executed in 1575. Shearer, p.13. For Burntisland, Burgh Schools Report, p.95, & MS. Burntisland B.R. 12/11/1660 & 11/8/1690 ("dwelling house above the school"). Note, however, the "negative housemail" in Dunfermline mentioned above p.109.

paid £6.16s for "the Maister of the Scolis hous mail". In the latter year, however, they paid £8 to "ane messoun for bigging of the scoll" and thereafter payment for housemail ceased. (1) In 1579 and 1581 there are payments to the schoolmaster of Cupar for chalmer mail; but none in the years that followed. (2) In 1646 the Town Council of Dysart promised their newly engaged schoolmaster "ane hous meall frie". (3) On the other hand it was the Kirk Session which paid house mail for the "house being the school" in Anstruther Easter. (4) The masters of Sang Schools were, in one case at least, similarly provided for. In 1629 the Town Council of Dunfermline "in respect thair is ane competent hous to learne his bairns in the airt of musick ... ordains the kie thair of to be offered and delyverit to him to the effect the toun be freed of paying his hous mail"(5) - which had been paid since 1627, if not earlier. (6) The schooldoctor too might be given accommodation or housemail. When Kirkcaldy Town Council appointed a new doctor (and precentor) in 1666 they decided "seeing that the hous quhairin Jon Buchan late doctor did dwell is that possesst be his wife and the loft above is not yet prepaired ... to take an chalmer to the said Mr. William upon the Toun's chargis for the space of halfe a year". (7) In Falkland, however, it was the Kirk Session which paid the housemail of the schooldoctor and precenter, from 1652 if not before. (8)

With this type of payment may be coupled another:- the gift to schoolmaster or schooldoctor of a rent free pew (or its equivalent) in the parish church. In 1649 "Mr Thomas Walker Schoolmaster (of Dunfermline)

1. Crail Common Good (printed in Maitland Miscellany). But in 1685 the Kirk Session promised a new schoolmaster housemail. MS. Crail K.S. (in P.R.) 20/1/1685. 2. Common Good, Cupar. 3. MS. Dysart B.R. 29/5/1646. 4. MS. Anstruther E. K.S. (in P.R.) 22/2/1653. Was this for school or schoolhouse? 5. Shearer, p.163. 6. Ibid p.157. 7. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 5/2/1666. It will be remembered that adventure teachers too were sometimes granted chalmer mail or a rent free house. - See above, p.47. 8. J.Downie, op.cit.,p.9.

and Adam Anderson" applied successfully to the Kirk Session "for ane little furme to be grantit to their wyves to sit togider on in the Kirk". (1) In the same year the supplication "given in be ... Mr James Meldrum" schoolmaster of Culross "for a seat to (his wife) ... was red" by the Session and "thought reasonable". (2)

Still another form of payment is important enough to warrant mention. The giving of free meals to the teachers of the burgh schools, often at the express injunction of the magistrates, was fairly common for schoolmasters before 1600 and remained a regular method of recompensing the doctor for some time thereafter. In 1595 the Kirk Session of Anstruther Wester desired the magistrates and Town Council "to tak fra them" (the parents) "the quarter payments for thir child, and ane dewtie after thir discretion for the dayes meat as it shall com about unto them, whidder they put ther bairnes to the school or not". (3) In Burntisland in 1596 the "honestest men of the toun" were ordered to lodge the Master in their houses in turns. (4) In 1619 the Kirk Session of Kirkcaldy ordained that the schooldoctor should have "his meatt about". (5) In neighbouring Dysart, in 1626, the schooldoctor complained that he did not receive any food from the scholars or their parents "as was the custom in the grammar schools". The Town Council was sympathetic, and allowed him 4s per quarter for each child at the school, over and above his regular stipend. In 1636 and 1648 the terms of admission of his successors stated that each was to be "entertained in his diet daily" by the parents of his

1. Dunfermline Extracts, 23/1/1649.
2. MS. Culross K.S. 16/2/1649.
3. MS. Anstruther Wester K.S. (in P.R.) 26/10/1595.
4. Grant, p.95.
5. J. Campbell - "Church & Parish of Kirkcaldy" (Kirkcaldy 1904) p.83.

pupils, or to receive 4s for "his hail days entertainment". (1) As late as 1646, when the schoolmaster of Culross was given "ane helper ... because he was not able to bear the charge alone" the minister asked "that once in the month or six weeks as occasion offered, every honest man in the toune who had bairne at the schule would either give his (i.e. the doctor's) days meal or a grot, which they all thought very favourable and did consent therto". (2)

All these payments, in cash or kind, laid down and sometimes paid by Town Council or Town Council and Kirk Session, were received by burgh schoolmaster and doctor for teaching. But there were two non-teaching posts which were so commonly associated with schoolmastering that they must be considered in any examination of the schoolmaster's living; the posts of Precentor and Session Clerk. The Precentor's duties are clearly indicated by his alternative title "taker up of the psalm". (3) He is also referred to as "Reidar" or "Reidar of the Prayers", though of course the Reader's duties (at the beginning of our period at least) were other than those of a Precentor, but that we need not pursue. (4) The Session Clerk's task was to keep the Register or Minute Book of the Kirk Session. He was appointed and paid by the Session. (5) The Precentor,

1. A.S.Cunningham - Dysart, p.54; & MS. Dysart B.R. 3/11/1648. Across the Forth, a little later, we see the custom being discontinued. In South Leith the Town Council, on the petition of the schoolmaster, granted 100 merks to the doctor to "sustain him in bed and board and so no go throw with the bairnes per vices to denner and supper". "South Leith Records", op.cit., p.113. 2. MS. Culross K.S. 14/3/1646. 3. So he is described in Grail in 1622 - Common Good. In St.Andrews in 1626, 1627, 1632, 1633, the T.C. paid "for taking up of the psalm", - Common Good. 4. On the morrow of the Reformation the Kirk suffered severely from a lack of ministers. In those parishes where a minister was not available his place was usually supplied by a Reader, who read the Scriptures & the Book of Common Prayer and gave simple expositions, but did not administer the sacraments. See Rev. John Ferguson's "Ecclesia Antiqua" (Oliver & Boyd, 1905) for an account of a Precentor & Reader in a Royal Burgh (Linlithgow) from 1592 to 1752. 5. Not, however, invariably. I have found one exception, in Kirkcaldy, see p.

on the other hand, though his duties were entirely connected with the Kirk, was often paid by the burgh. Burntisland, Crail, Dunfermline, Dysart, Inverkeithing, Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy and St. Andrews all, at one time or another in this period, paid the Precentor from their Common Good. (1) Naturally enough, where the burghs paid, they claimed the right to appoint - a claim with obvious possibilities for friction between Kirk Session and Magistrates, though whether friction arose in this period from this cause, as it did later, we cannot say. Not all the burghs, however, paid the Precentors; Cupar, for example, never did. And even where we find a burgh at one time making payments, at a later period the payments might cease. Thus in Crail the Precentor was paid from the Common Good until 1622, but not apparently thereafter, and thenceforward, as always where the burgh was not the employer, the Precentor was paid by the Kirk Session. (2)

In the landward parishes it was the rule for the two posts of precentor and clerk to be held by one man. In the burghs, however, this was not always the case. Two of the largest did not, it seems, make the double appointment: at no time between 1560 and 1660 was the Session Clerk of St. Andrews also Precentor; (3) and in Cupar, though the position is somewhat obscure, it appears that for part of the time at least the posts were distinct. (4) But none the less the combination was very

1. Common Good, various burghs; (for Kirkcaldy) Macbean, p.121, and MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 5/2/1666 & Ibid 26/2/1677 (where the T.C. claim to be patrons of the Precentorship of the Kirk); for Dunfermline, see Shearer, pp.21,43,81,95,170 (i.e. period 1606 to 1630). 2. Common Good, Crail, & MS. Crail K.S. 24/8/1664. 3. The Master of the Sang School was for most of the period (& later) Precentor, but not Session Clerk. Common Good, St. Andrews, 1627, 1633 (& 1691); MS. St. Andrews P.R. 1627, 1659; & Reg. St. Andrews, pp. 293, 846, 879. 4. Mr. A. Anderson (ex-master of the Sang School) was Grammar Schoolmaster from 1648 to 1660, and Session Clerk before December, 1654. (Appendix, Cupar, & MS. Cupar Pres. 28/12/1654) The doctor, appointed in 1656, was described as "doctor & presenter" in 1662 (MS. Cupar B.R. 5/2/1662) & was precentor in 1695 (MS. Cupar Pres. 11/6/1695). I have not come across the formula "Precentor & Session Clerk" at any time in the 17th century in connection with Cupar.

common. Dunfermline, Inverkeithing, Kinghorn, and Kirkcaldy all made the double appointment throughout the period 1610 to 1660; (1) while Auchtermuchty, Burntisland, Crail, Culross, and Dysart at some time or other in (or just outside) this period had an official who was both scribe and lector (to use terms which are also found). (2)

Now, not only were these church posts often held by one man; they were also generally held by either schoolmaster or schooldoctor. To this, (as to so many generalisations about schools and schoolmasters) there were, however, exceptions. In Dunfermline (except in the years between 1627 and 1649) it was the Master of the Sang School who was Precentor-Clerk; (3) in St. Andrews the Master of the Sang School was the Precentor and (as already mentioned) another man who was neither school-doctor nor Grammar School master was session clerk. (4) But elsewhere the posts were held by a teacher in the burgh Grammar school: in Kirkcaldy by the school doctor throughout the period; and similarly in Burntisland and Dysart for a time; (5) in Auchtermuchty, Crail, Culross, and Kinghorn by the schoolmaster, for some part of the period at least. (6)

1. Dunfermline P.R. 5/12/1604 & 16/8/1640; Dunfermline Extracts 17/4/1687.
2. Auchtermuchty - MS. Cupar Pres. 26/3/1649 & 3/5/1649 & Appendix, Auchtermuchty. Burntisland (in 1602) Burgh Schools Report p.95. Crail - MS. Crail K.S. 24/8/1664 - makes clear the custom was to make the double appointment. See also MS. Crail K.S. 9/11/1664. Culross - MS. Culross P.R. title page, 1641, 1652. Dysart - Muir, Gleanings, p.95. 3. Dunfermline P.R. 5/12/1604 & 16/8/1640; Dunfermline Extracts 17/4/1687; Shearer, p.166,167, and Dunfermline P.R. 16/8/1640. 4. See p.122, footnote 3. 5. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 5/2/1666 & 26/2/1677 - both referring to the Town Council's claim, obviously well established, to appoint "Doctor and Precentor". When, early in the seventeenth century, the K.S. agreed to give the Doctor a "stand of claithe" and the T.C. gave him a cloak, was this done that he might make a decent appearance as Precentor? (Campbell, Church & Parish of Kirkcaldy, p.83) cf. "Ecclesia Antiqua" p.251. Burntisland in 1602, Burgh Schools Report, p.95. But by 1669 the schoolmaster was Precentor in Burntisland, Burntisland B.R. 16/8/1669. Dysart - Testaments - Commissariat St.Andrews, Vol.9 (John Gow). 6. Auchtermuchty:- MS. EuparCPres. 3/5/1649. Crail:- Conolly, p.165 (Schoolmaster in 1620 Precentor); MS. Crail K.S. 30/11/1662 & 24/8/1664. Culross:- P.R. title page, 1641, 1652. Kinghorn:- Extracts, pp. 8 & 37.

Indeed in certain places the two posts of Session Clerk and teacher were so closely linked that the Kirk Sessions could hardly think of separate appointments. Crail Session endured the inconvenience of having no clerk at all during the interval between the demission of one schoolmaster and the entry of his successor; (1) and during a vacancy in the Anstruther Easter school the Kirk Session in that burgh would make only an interim appointment of a clerk till "the tounie suld be able to have a schoolmaster". (2)

In the burghs then, we find these posts and combinations of posts open to the teacher:- Schoolmaster; Schooldoctor; Sang schoolmaster - Precenter; Sang schoolmaster-Precenter-Clerk; Schoolmaster-Clerk; Schoolmaster-Clerk-Precenter; Schooldoctor-Clerk-Precenter. When we try to discover what additional income the pluralist teacher derived from his other, non-teaching posts, we have to remember that in some burghs he was given not one salary for teaching and another for precenting or clerking, but a salary for the combined posts. For example, when the Reader-Scribe-Schoolmaster of Kinghorn died in 1640, the Kirk Session did not merely engage as Session Clerk one who had already been chosen by the Town Council as Schoolmaster; they (acting, we may be sure, in close agreement with the Town Council) wrote to the likeliest man and engaged him as "schoolmaster and Reader", at a salary of £103.6s.8d (including £50 per annum from the Kirk Session) for the triple post. (3) The salary of £200 paid to the Master of the Sang School by the burgh of St. Andrews (in the first half of the seventeenth century) was a payment for teaching and precenting. (4) The £36 paid to the

1. MS. Crail K.S. 28/3/1658 & 25/9/1658. 2. MS. Anstruther Easter K.S. 11/11/1651. An example of the Town Council falling in with the Kirk Session is found a little later. In 1684 Inverkeithing T.C. set aside the man they had chosen as schoolmaster because he was not acceptable to the Kirk Session as Precenter & Clerk. (Stephen - History, p.390) 3. Kinghorn Extracts, pp.38 & 40. 4. In 1626, 1627, 1631, 1632, according to the extant records. But certainly over a much longer period. - Common Good, St. Andrews.

Reader by the Inverkeithing Town Council, in the same period, was paid to him as "Reider and Schoolmaster". (1) And no doubt we should regard the £16 which the Inverkeithing Kirk Session paid their clerk as part of the salary for clerking and schoolmastering; and the £33.6s.8d paid by Burntisland Town Council (from 1621 to 1633) to their Reader as a salary to the Schoolmaster-Reader-Clerk. (2) On the other hand it is clear that the Crail Magistrates and Kirk Session thought of the two posts of Schoolmaster and Precentor as distinct, though held by one man. In 1622 the Precentor received £20 from the Common Good; as Schoolmaster he had £100. What his successors received from the Kirk Session was plainly not regarded by the Session as part of their salaries as schoolmasters. (3)

In addition to his salary, if any, the Session Clerk received "the casualties of baptism and marriage" - the fees for registering baptisms and marriages. (In a few parishes deaths were also registered, for a fee). The scale of charges was usually laid down by the Kirk Session (but in Kirkcaldy the Town Council seems to have been responsible); (4) and it could be altered upwards to reward a satisfactory Session Clerk, or downwards to relieve hard pressed parishioners. In 1650, for example, the Session Clerk (and Sang Schoolmaster) of Dunfermline justly claimed that his fees - 4s for a baptism and 6s.8d for a marriage - were much below those paid elsewhere, and was granted an increase to 6s.8d for a baptism and 13s.4d for a marriage "provyding that those who are poore should be considerit and pittied". (5) Thereafter, he must have received about £60, even if a quarter

1. £36.6s.8d in 1626; £36.13s.4d in 1634 - Common Good, Inverkeithing.
2. Common Good, Burntisland. 3. Common Good, Crail, & MS. Crail K.S. Vol.1, esp. 24/8/1664. 4. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 5/2/1666 - "upon the said scholemaster and Doctor thair petitions they (i.e. the T.C.) will rectifye and augment their paymentes of baptisms and marriages as they shall then find requisite".
5. MS. Dunfermline K.S. 14/4/1650. The figures for registration fees in the landward parishes, given below, show how much poorer the earlier fees were.

of those registering paid him nothing, whereas in 1641, on the old scale, he would have received about £45. (1) Parishes with much higher fees, if lower populations, were Aberdour, where in 1660 the rates were 16s per baptism and 34s per marriage; and Pittenweem, where in 1646 they were 10s per baptism, and £3 per marriage, and 4s (which went to the schooldoctor, who kept the "book of burials") per death. (2) In 1649 Falkland Kirk Session guaranteed that their schooldoctor-session clerk's receipts from registration fees would be 50 merks per annum - the sum which the session clerk (and schoolmaster) of landward Ceres had drawn in registration fees in 1629. (3) In 1654 Culross Kirk Session granted their schoolmaster 20 merks "because of the loss he had by reason of Mr James Meldrum possessing his place in Kirk and Session" - i.e. by acting as Session Clerk. (4) In 1664 Crail Kirk Session paid an interim precentor £10 for one year's service: presumably the regular schoolmaster-session clerk there drew a good deal more. (5) Obviously there was a fair measure of variation between parish and parish; but it is highly probable that in the larger burghs at least the Session Clerks received between 60 and 80 merks each year for their work as Registrars.

1. According to the Dunfermline Parish Registers

in Dunfermline 138 baptisms & 29 marriages were registered in 1611									
"	"	112	"	"	28	"	"	"	1631
"	"	160	"	"	39	"	"	"	1641.

I have assumed that the Precentor took all the fees - the bellman was given a separate payment after 1650, and presumably before. (MS. Dunfermline K.S. 14/4/1650) 2. MS. Aberdour K.S. 22/1/1660 & 29/1/1660; & MS. Pittenweem K.S. 13/1/1646. But in 3/5/1653 we read "the schoolmaster to get 20s of every marriage". 3. John Downie, "Early Home of Richard Cameron" (Paisley 1901) p.8, quoting Falkland K.S. 16/12/1649. The Falkland fees were 6s.8d per baptism, & 13s.4d per marriage. For Ceres - MS. Ceres P.R. 1629, see below p. 139. Burntisland also guaranteed the Clerk's income for Registrations: if he be short in any of the casualties, especially the precentorship ... they are to make it up to him from the Common Good - MS. Burntisland B.R. 16/8/1669. 4. MS. Culross K.S. 18/4/1654. 5. MS. Crail K.S. 24/8/1664.

Probably what the Clerk and Schoolmaster received from this source he would in most cases keep. But not always. Just as the schoolmaster could find his salary diminished by payments for schoolhouse repairs or the employment of a doctor, so too the Session Clerk might discover that not all the casualties were his. In 1664 (and for some time before that, if the terms of the 1664 appointment are any guide) the Session Clerk of Crail was receiving only the casualties, and no salary for his pains. And since the clerk chosen in that year could not take up the psalm himself, he was "to content him that did" - which probably cost him £10, the amount which the Kirk Session had paid an interim precentor just before his entry. (1)

Apart from the casualties, where "No fee, no registration" was no doubt the rule, the Session Clerks often had difficulties, similar to those of schoolmasters, in obtaining their fees and salaries. The ex-schoolmaster of Crail had to sue the Town Council to get his £10 for precenting in the kirk there during 1621. (2) And the Kirk Session could be as difficult as any Town Council, as Mr. Thomas Biggar of Kinghorn found. He asked for payment for past services on the 21st of March, 1624, and repeated his request a month later, but "Mr Alexander Scrimgeour notwithstanding he is minister and moderator of the session refusit to move any wayes in that business: Becaws sayd he the said Mr Thomas had compleanit to the superior powers upon him. Quilk the session heering alleadgit you had as littell entres wi that busines as he; swa that the said Mr Thomas seeing na apperance of payment to be maid to him: Alleadgit he wald be no moir bund to serve thame than thai wald be bund to pay him for his service". (3)

1. MS. Crail K.S. 14/8/1664 & 24/8/1664. 2. Conolly, p.165.

3. Kinghorn Extracts, p.25. Biggar was the 'scrib', and takes full advantage of his opportunity to make himself right with posterity, it will be seen.

In November, 1629, he was still agitating to obtain payment of the £40 yearly they had promised to pay him in 1606; in December the Session found they owed him £85.4s. (1) It was not until June, 1630, after he had craved that "he might have payment of that quhilk was dewlie addedit to him for his service be the minister and quhair of he recavit no answer becaus the Minister refusit to put the same in wrytinge" that the session ordered him to be paid from the penalties. (2)

This troublesome episode took place before the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy began the series of visitations to implement the Act of 1633; and it is probably not without significance that Bigger's successor, who entered in April 1641, received prompt payment for his first half-year's service in December. (3)

In view of what has been said above, it is of course impossible to present any figure - or series of figures for different periods - as the total cash income of the "average" burgh schoolmaster. But it is worth noting that in 1644 - i.e. before the Kirk's hands were strengthened by a strong Education Act, but also before the finances of the coastal burghs were weakened by the Civil Wars - the Kirk Session of Pittenweem reckoned that their schoolmaster's income from salary (which was 100 merks), fees, and casualties was worth 250 merks. (4) And in 1646 the Kirk Session promised a new schoolmaster that he would receive all told, 300 merks (or £300). (5) Pittenweem, it will be remembered, had a schooldoctor, with whom fees had to be shared.

1. Kinghorn Extracts, p.32. 2. Ibid p.33. 3. Ibid p.40.

4. MS. Pittenweem K.S. 15/6/1644. 5. Ibid 4/10/1646. But this did not include housemail.

Turning now to the parish schools, we find the question of the schoolmaster's living more straightforward. He rarely had an assistant; indeed only three parochial schools - Aberdour, Pittenweem, and Torryburn, all schools in sizeable towns - employed doctors in this period. Usually, too, the parish schoolmaster was precentor and session clerk. His salary as schoolmaster was paid by the "husbandmen and heritors" except in the infrequent cases when it came, in whole or in part, from the proceeds of a mortification. And he was appointed by Minister and Kirk Session (later, by Minister only) acting with the heritors.

His income, then, like that of most of his colleagues in the burghs, was made up of three parts:- his salary (with any payments in kind) as schoolmaster, his fees from parents (and from Kirk Session for poor scholars) and his stipend as session clerk and precentor. What his salary was before 1638 is not too easily found. When the Synod in 1611 stented Abdie and Forgan, and fixed a payment of one merk (13s.4d) Scots on every plough (1) - the common order, as they said - they were no doubt increasing the schoolmaster's income. (Abdie, which included the burgh of Newburgh is something of a special case, and there the schoolmaster had £66.13s.4d of additional salary.) Under this method of assessment, the salary of course would vary according to the size of the (arable portion of the) parish. Balmerino (adjacent to Forgan, and like it dependent on agriculture and a little fishing, and with the same population) had in 1640 twenty ploughs; (2) and in 1630-40 Kennoway had

1. 13 acres = 1 oxgate; 8 oxgates = 1 ploughgate or one pleuche.
2. Campbell, p.366.

32 ploughs; Markinch 64. (1) It is not difficult to work out that the 1615 salaries of schoolmasters would have been in all these places at this rate of payment - if in fact they had had schoolmasters.

By 1620 or thereabouts it seems probable that salaries were increased. In 1619 the Presbytery of Cupar, as already mentioned, fixed the rate in Ceres - and presumably in such other parishes as had schoolmasters - at 2 merks per "Scotch plough", a figure which was re-established in 1626 by the Kirk Session there. (2) (This included the schoolmaster's fee as Session Clerk and Precentor.) But a rate of one or two merks was not universal: Markinch Kirk Session, in 1629, granted, not cash, but "ane firloft meall appon every siggle plough". (3)

The salaries stented after the Act of 1633 (which laid down, not a figure, but a ganeral direction "that a certane solide and sure course how ... the Scools may be enterteyned") (4) and before the Act of 1646 came into force, are again an advance. The clearest evidence comes from the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy. In 1636 the Visitors fixed salaries for all but two of the parochial and burgh schools in their bounds, salaries which varied according to the population and wealth of the parishes. These salaries ranged from £200 in Wemyss to £66.13s.4d in Ballingry. The Markinch master was to have £133.6s.8d, the masters of Auchterderran, Portmoak, and Kennoway £80: figures which would indicate a stent of about 3½ merks to the plough.

1. Stevenson - Presbytrie Book, Intro. p.XIX. 2. MS. Ceres K.S. (in P.R.) 25/6/1626. 3. MS. Markinch K.S. 8/11/1629. 4. This is the wording of the Act of the Privy Council, 10/12/1616, the Act ratified by the Act of Parliament of 1633.

In two other Presbyteries the salaries fixed were, to judge from the few examples that have come down to us, somewhat lower. In Balmerino (Cupar) in 1640, 2 merks per plough were paid, giving 40 merks;(1) and in Carnock (Dunfermline) 64 merks. (2) In 1643 Dunino (St.Andrews) settled 150 merks on the schoolmaster. (3)

It is very plain, from the difficulties of the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy (and their difficulties were doubtless shared by the other Presbyteries) in getting any offer whatsoever out of many of the heritors, that the schoolmaster would require the firm backing of Kirk Session and some of the heritors in his parish if he were to enjoy what was allotted to him. As we shall see, all too often he failed to get his dues, just as he was in many cases to fail to collect what was owed him under the next Act, that of 1646. Yet Graham's judgement on the 1633 Act - that it was notoriously ineffective - is altogether too strong, as regards Fife at least. In the 13 years it was in force before 1662, in spite of violent civil commotion which affected Fife not least of the Scottish counties, substantial progress was made in planting schools and fixing salaries. And as the 1633 Act was still the law of the land from 1662 to 1696 it should be judged by its effectiveness in the later period also.

The Act of 1646 did, however, strengthen the hands of the Presbyteries; and although the minimum salary now fixed was only 100 merks (or £66.13s.4d) and the maximum (200 merks) was less than had been allotted to the largest parish of Kirkcaldy Presbytery under the 1633 Act, yet in many cases the new Act led to an increase in salary for the parochial

1. Campbell, p.365. 2. MS. Carnock K.S. (in P.R.) 3/9/1643.
3. MS. Dunino K.S. (in P.R.) 5/6/1643.

schoolmaster. Thus, the salary in Carnock was raised to £100 in 1648; (1) Balmerino, by 1653, was paying its schoolmaster £66.13s.4d; (2) and Moonzie (though not until 1650) was made to increase the salary to its schoolmaster from £40 to the minimum. (3) Of course, not all the increases were offered willingly. During the dealings with the heritors to fix salaries all the old arguments and all the haggling that we found after 1633 are to be found again. The parishioners of Dalgety were "onlie willing to give ane hundred and ten merks", we read, but the Presbytery insisted on £80. (4) "They had often dealt with the Heritors within their bounds for settlyng those (matters) of a schoole within the parroches of Cleish and Bathe (Beath), and ... the heritors did refuse the same" reported the ministers of those parishes. (5) So it went on; but salaries at the new rate were stented in due course.

None the less the schoolmaster who, possibly after considerable agitation by Kirk Session or Presbytery, found himself, on paper, possessed of an adequate settled maintenance was by no means free from financial care. He now had to collect the contributions from what might be a lengthy list of heritors. Lucky the schoolmaster who had only a few, well-intentioned, heritors to deal with. In Balmerino, for example, "the Laird of Naughtone produced the stent roll drawn up by himself and George Stirk for the maintenance of the schoole as they were appointed, and the said Laird of Naughtone did signifie unto My Lord Balmerino - that he could not get the stent maid up without making his Lordship four mark more nor his 20 lib which he had formerlie dedicat for the use of the scoole ...

1. Webster, Carnock, p.158. 2. Campbell, p.408. 3. MS. Cupar Pres. 20/7/1650. 4. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 29/9/1647. 5. Ibid 17/1/1649.

His Lordship answered he was willing to give the four marks also, by and attour the 20 lib, for which all the session gave his Lordship thanks". (1) And the Session Clerk too, no doubt. But even here, the Kirk Session suspected that matters might not go smoothly, and they promised that if any heriter refused to pay his proper share, they would exercise their authority on behalf of their schoolmaster. (2)

The schoolmaster and doctor of Aberdour had a less pleasant experience with the gentlemen of their parish. In December, 1650, the Kirk Session ordered "that ane meeting of the heritores be on thursday next ... that some course may be taken concerning the ingathering of the schoolmaster's stipend & of that is auchtand to the doctor". The heritors cannot have been very helpful since on the 27th of January, 1651, the Session had to appoint eight of their members to collect "that which should be payed by the touns ... with all dilligence by reasone of the doctor's necessitie ...". The same day the schoolmaster complained that he was not paid by the "Earle of Murray and sundrie other heritors ... it being also declared that the Earle was charged with horning", and the Earl's chamberlain promised to pay up. But the schoolmaster's troubles with the heritors continued; and in 1658 "because of the evill payment of his stipend" he desired the Session to "take some course for the ingathering of the same quhairby hee might the more convenientlie gett waited on his charge quhilk was a great obstructions to him And might be freed of the great charges and expenses hee bestowed thairon Quhairby the principall was allmost exhausted And moreover incurred the hatred and malice of manie with whom

1. In 1653, Campbell, p.402. 2. In 1657, Campbell, p.409. The schoolmaster to whom this was promised stayed for 48 years.

hee had a doe, for avoyding quhair of hee was constrained to give in the foresaid petition". The Session urged him to try again, and promised that if he failed to collect what the heritors owed him, they would meet the expense of collection. He tried again, without success: as he complained, "some awe two years, some three, others ever since his entrie". The Session then took on the expense of collecting, as promised, and (a fortnight later) advanced him £12. A year later "he is so evill payed by some of the heritors so that he cannot gett lived if some present course be not taken". (1) Yet, in spite of all these hardships, he remained in Aberdour until 1669, and continued to have difficulty in getting in his stipend.

Elsewhere, as in Kennoway in 1658, the session "agreed to be assisters to and payers of the schoolmasters charges in seeking of his stipend". (2) But not everywhere, as the schoolmaster of Ferry Port on Craig found: "16 August 1657. This day the minister desiring some of the elders to goe throw the towne for collecting of the schoolmasters stipend (they) made excuses that they would not goe. The schoolmaster seeing ther unwillingness thairto and his tyme being expyred layed doune his chaarge before the sessione". (3) He must have been rather bitter about this: three years before he had told the Session he had a call elsewhere, and they "not being willing that he should goe away promised that the 60 lib which they payed out of the toune could be sufficiently payed to the owtmost of their power; and ... that the 40 lib yearly promised by the Ladie

1. MS. Aberdour K.S. 3/12/1650; 27/1/1651; 6/6/1658; 20/6/1658; 4/7/1658; 9/8/1659. 2. MS. Kennoway K.S. 21/2/1658. 3. MS. Ferry K.S. 16/8/1657.

(the sole heritor) could not be withdrawn." (1)

Apart from giving the schoolmaster assistance in collecting from the heritors, the Session could help in various ways. Ferry Port-on-Craig Kirk Session, for example, took over the whole burden of paying his salary from the heritors, until the charge became too much for "the box". (2) Other Sessions came to their schoolmaster's assistance by advancing him a pound or two until such time as the heritors paid up. Aberdour, Ceres, Dunino, and Markinch all made loans to their schoolmasters between 1643 and 1658. (3) Better still would be an out and out gift, which might come his way "because times are hard", (4) or because "he and his whole family were sick" - "unrequyred", the Session Clerk and schoolmaster added here, with a touch of pride. (5)

In two parishes at least, for some part of this period, it was the parish minister who came to the help of the schoolmaster, and in the absence of a sufficient salary contracted to pay something out of his own stipend. In 1647 the Minister of Carnock "shewed to the Session that I had found a very able schoolmaster and I had agreed with him for £100 per annum, but becaus the maintenance agreed upon by the Act and ... to be given by the heritors was ane hundred marks I demanded some help of the husbandmen and promised to give 20 merks myself". (6) And Mr George

1. MS. Ferry K.S. 2/11/1654. Other examples are:- Markinch (20/3/1643) - schoolmaster left - "his deutie was small and evill payed"; Scoonie (18/4/1644) - "schoolmaster had been aughtine yeirs within the congregation attending his chaarge ... but he had small benefit and recompense;" and Carnock (30/3/1657) - "very ill payed". MS. K.S. Records of the various parishes, sub anno. 2. Ferry K.S. 20/7/1650. 3. MS. Aberdour K.S. 22/3/1657; MS. Ceres K.S. 23/3/1656; MS. Dunino K.S. (in P.R.) 5/6/1643; MS. Markinch K.S. 2/12/1665. 4. MS. Markinch K.S. 21/4/1650 & 12/1/1651. 5. Ibid 29/5/1659. 6. Webster, Carnock, p.160.

Hamilton, the minister of Newburn from "during all his time" paid his schoolmaster £16 per annum of additional salary. Moreover, he obtained a promise from the Session that if, after he ceased to be Minister, his successor was unwilling to continue this payment, they would take it over themselves - a promise which they honoured in 1656. (2)

At least once monetary help was obviously outwith the Session's power. In Carnock, because the funds were low, the schoolmaster "gat his meat at the manse". (2) This, after 1643, was a rare reversion to an earlier custom, as far as schoolmasters were concerned, though it is found in Ballingry in 1671. (3) But for the doctor it would seem to be the accepted mode. When in 1650 Aberdour Session decided to engage an assistant for the school, they granted him 50 merks, 40d of school fees from every child, "and for his meat they are to think upon ane way what voluntarilie everie pleugh in the landwart will give, either in victuall or in moneyes". (4)

The payment of housemail - fairly common, since few of the parishes had succeeded in building a schoolhouse before 1660 - has already been dealt with. It is only necessary to add that, so far as is known, it was always paid by the Kirk Session. (5)

Housemail did not, of course, put any cash directly into the pockets of the schoolmaster. That was done by his school fees, and by the sums paid to him, in his guise of session clerk, for registering baptisms, marriages, and, on occasion, burials. Of these sources of profit, that which varied most, and fluctuated in rough conformity with his efforts and

1. MS. Newburn K.S. (in P.R.) 3/3/1650 & 13/1/1656. 2. Webster, Carnock, p.158.
3. Jamie - Ballingry, p.70. Note however, the schoolmaster's salary in Logie in 1650 was: annual rent of 1,000 merks, plus £50, plus 3 bolls bear yearly from tenants. (MS. Cupar Pres. 16/5/1650) 4. MS. Aberdour K.S. 11/6/1650.
5. So Markinch, Ferry, Kilrenny, Kennoway, Aberdour. See above, p.37.

deserts, was his income from school fees. Matrimony and mortality struck his fellow parishioners without regard to his qualities, but if he neglected his duty, his pupils were liable to fade away, and with them a large part of his living. Only the poor scholars were without this form of protection against the incompetent but not actually outrageous schoolmaster.

School fees in the parochial schools shew greater uniformity from parish to parish than those we found in the burgh schools - at least in that period when the records are plentiful enough to permit comparison. As in the burghs, they were generally higher in 1660 than in 1600. In 1611 the parish children of Forgan were charged 6s.8d per quarter, which, since it was fixed by the Synod, was probably the fee charged elsewhere at that time. (1) In 1626 the fees in Ceres, however, were 20s for Latin and 13s.4d for "Inglis" - "as was ... before established be the Presbytery of Cupar at the Visitation of the Kirk the 13 June 1619" (2) - (figures which may be for four quarters). By 1660 or thereabouts, however, 10s per quarter was the usual charge; of ten parishes which made payments for "poor scholars", six gave 10s, two gave 6s.8d, and one gave 13s.4d. (3)

1. MS. Synod 14/8/1611. 2. MS. Ceres K.S. (in P.R.) 25/6/1626.
3. MS. Aberdour K.S. 2/2/1665; MS. Auchtermuchty K.S. 30/3/1651;
Balmerino, 1657 (Campbell, p.408); MS. Ferry K.S. 11/1/1658;
MS. Kennoway K.S. 22/4/1655; all 10s; MS. Dairsie K.S. 30/11/1651;
MS. Monimail K.S. (in P.R.) 20/11/1658 to 10/6/1660 passim - 6s.8d;
MS. Dunbog K.S. 15/9/1667 - 12s; MS. Kettle K.S. (in P.R.) 25/4/1658;
MS. Newburgh K.S. 12/2/1654 to 8/3/1657 passim - 13s.4d.

There is no reason to believe that the fees for poor scholars were different from those charged for other children. (1) And no landward Kirk Session, as far as is known, employed the system of block grants to the schoolmaster for teaching the poor that we found in some of the burghs. He was paid according to the number of poor children on his school books; but what these numbers were during the first half of the seventeenth century we cannot discover, owing to the very scrappy nature of the records. It is worth noting, however, that as early as 1626 the Ceres Kirk Session decided that "out of the penalties (the schoolmaster) should have payment of sua mony bairnes that he wants put to the school within twentie". (2)

Fees, of course, were no more easily collected in the landward parishes than in the burghs. Let the schoolmaster of Carnock speak for all his cheated colleagues. On 30th March, 1657, the Kirk Session visited the school ... "At length they came to this, to know how the Schoolmaster was payed his quarter payments and his fies. He told he was verie ill payed, and therfor desyred the minister to give decreit to him, quhilk was made in his favour that he may put the samen in execution, seing he had used all fair meines, as the elders themselves confest; yet not the better for having ordour fra David Mitchell, baillye, thrie yeirs since for poynding deficientis, yet did desist, being loth to be hard, so that he fand this true - 'Frustra est potentia - non reducitor in actum'". (3)

1. I have found only one instance where a difference is mentioned - and not in this period. In Kingsbarns in 1663 10s was the usual fee, poor scholars were paid for at 6s.8d per quarter. MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 2/11/1663.
2. MS. Ceres K.S. (in P.R.) 25/6/1626. 3. Webster, Carnock, p.160.

The session clerk's fees for registering births, marriages, and deaths, unlike the school fees, do not seem to have altered much between 1619 and 1660. In 1626 the Ceres Kirk Session, re-establishing the charges they had settled in 1619, ruled that their new session clerk (and schoolmaster) should have 10s per baptism, 20s per marriage contract, and 6s.8d per burial; and a month or two later they guaranteed him against excessive celibacy or longevity in the parish by promising that his income from registration fees should be not less than 50 merks per annum. (1) (One wonders if the guarantors were ever called upon; in any event, in one year, (chosen at random) the figures for births, marriages, and deaths registered were 42, 13, and 6 respectively; i.e. they represented £36 or 54 merks to the schoolmaster.) (2) In 1660 the fees in Balmerino and Dunbog were 20s for marriages and 10s for baptisms - i.e. exactly the same fees as in Ceres forty years before - though there the beadle shared the fees with the session clerk. (3) In Dunfermline Presbytery, registration fees were somewhat higher at this time. The Aberdour Session, having decided in 1660 to make their charges "conforme to neighbouring paroches", established the scale:- marriage, 24s to the schoolmaster and 10s to the beadle; and baptism 10s to the schoolmaster and 6s to the beadle. (4)

In addition to these regular sources of income, the parish schoolmaster might receive certain casual payments which in total would add little to his income, but which would be none the less welcome. First of these, common enough later, but not often met before 1660 - though again the scrappiness of the Kirk Session records may be responsible - was the

1. MS. Ceres K.S. (in P.R.) 25/6/1626 & 13/8/1626. 2. MS. Ceres P.R. 1629.
3. The beadle got 3s.4d for both baptism & marriage - Campbell, p.409, & MS. Dunbog K.S. 15/9/1667. 4. MS. Aberdour K.S. 22/1/1660 & 29/1/1660.
Dalgety fees in 1652 were:- Marriage 24s (Session Clerk 18s, beadle 6s) & Baptism 15s (10s & 5s). MS. Dalgety K.S. (in P.R.) 4/6/1652.

payment of removal expenses. In 1640 Markinch Session paid a dollar to "Mr David Balcanqll horse hyre thatt carried his carriage to Markinshe". (1) In 1644 the Kirk Session of Pittenweem gave their new schoolmaster two dollars for his "downcoming". (2) And twenty years later Kennoway Kirk Session paid their recently appointed Schoolmaster 24s "to bring his bed west ... (he) not able to pay for bringing it". (3) As Precentor, too, the schoolmaster could expect, fairly regularly, a sum for his "extraordinary pains at the Sacrament" of Communion - Aberdour for example paid £5.16s in 1660 and Markinch as much as £14.10s in 1656. (4) But alongside these payments from the Session for services rendered or troubles incurred were, here and there, other payments, expressions of good will. Between April, 1650 and September 1651 the Kirk Session of Markinch made gifts totalling £26.4s "because the yeir is hard" and "out of benevolence". (5) And "the bed that was bought many years before" 1667 "to the schoolmaster" of Logie by the Session there (and for which they received £5 when they disposed of it) was certainly not part of the ordinary payment, we can be sure. (6)

These then are the sources of the parish schoolmaster's income. From what has been said it is plain that even when we ignore extraordinary payments, income from cock fighting (which probably was a feature of the parochial school year) and the mortifications which added

1. MS. Markinch K.S. 26/4/1640. 2. MS. Pittenweem K.S. 15/6/1644.
3. MS. Kennoway K.S. 9/8/1663. Note also the payment of 37s to the schoolmaster of Kettle "his chairges in cuming hither to aggree with the session for the school". MS. Kettle K.S. (in P.R.) 31/5/1646. 4. MS. Aberdour K.S. 10/7/1660 & similar payment on 13/9/1663; MS. Markinch M.S. 13/8/1656 & (£11.12s) 16/9/1654. Dairsie paid the master and beadle a total of £3.14s in 1649 - MS. Dairsie K.S. 29/7/1649; and Newburgh paid the Precentor £3 (MS. Newburgh K.S. 27/7/1656 & 24/7/1670 - "his ordinary due to him at the celebration of the Sacrament".) 5. MS. Markinch K.S. 21/4/1650, 12/1/1650 and 21/9/1651. 6. MS. Logie K.S. (in P.R.) 3/2/1667.

to the schoolmaster's income in a few places - e.g. Ceres, Creich, and Newburn - it is no more possible to give any close estimate for the receipts of the "average" parochial schoolmaster than it was to give a figure for the total income of the "average" burgh schoolmaster. Conditions vary too much from parish to parish and from decade to decade - indeed from year to year. The best we can do is to work out what the schoolmaster in one or two parishes probably received, if heritors paid their share, and if the parents paid their children's fees, and to set against this the cases where we know that in fact the schoolmaster did not receive enough to make a decent livelihood. Assuming, then, favourable conditions, we can be sure that the schoolmaster of Balmerino in the last decade before the Restoration drew in round figures £150 each year, made up of 100 merks salary, £3-10 in Registration fees, and (allowing him an average of 40 pupils throughout the year) £80 in pupils' fees. (1) The schoolmaster of Ceres from 1650-1640 can hardly have received less than £180 in a good year - 100 merks of salary (and more after Hope's Mortification), a guaranteed 50 merks in Registration fees, and some £80 to £100 in school fees - he could, it will be remembered, teach up to 20 "poor scholars" at the Session's expense. (2) Or again, Mr Andrew Bryan, who became "schoolmaster, clerk and precenter" in Torryburn in 1660 may well have had £300 a year during his three years'

1. Balmerino had about one third of the population of Ceres - see O.S.A., Balmerino and Ceres. Cf. the figure given for school fees with the £25-30 sterling which his successor drew in 1837. N.S.A. Balmerino.

2. If only 60 children attended, none learned Latin, & the fees given above were per year, the master would draw £40; if 60 attended, & the fees were per quarter, £160. The number of pupils in the school would not increase pro-rata with the population - one has to allow for the existence of Adventure schools. Cf. the figure for school fees with the £65 sterling received in 1837. N.S.A. Ceres.

stay in that parish. Even if his £200 "stipend" included his salary as Session Clerk and Precentor, he can hardly have drawn much less than £100 per annum in school and registration fees. (1) On the other side of the picture we must place such parishes as Ferry Port-on-Craig, where the schoolmaster's stipend could not be collected in 1655 and 1657, (2) and Dairsie, where the salary in 1649 (in spite of the Act of 1646) was only £40 per annum, and where the fees and casualties can scarcely have produced another £60. (3)

There was, however, one body of official teachers whose condition, on the whole, was worse than that of the most poorly paid parochial schoolmaster. The vast majority of the little group of school-doctors of burgh and parish schools must have had a hard struggle to live. In Cupar (where he had a salary as great as many schoolmasters received, and a third share of substantial fees) and in Kirkcaldy and Burntisland, where

1. According to the N.S.A., an examination of the P.R.'s indicates that the population was 1250 in 1640, 1800 in 1670, and 1550 in 1680. There is unlikely to have been this violent fluctuation, but these figures, taken with Webster's figure of 1635 in 1755, suggest that the population was some 1500 in 1650; it will be remembered that the Presbytery urged the employment of a doctor in 1656. (MS. Dunfermline Pres. 20/8/1656) The Session paid at least £32 for poor scholars' fees in 1647, £20 to the parish schoolmaster. MS. Torryburn K.S. (in P.R.) 25/4/1647 & 28/11/1647.
 2. MS. Ferry K.S. 3/5/1655 (& 12/6/1656, which makes it clear that the schoolmaster had left in disgust) & 9/7/1657 & 16/8/1657.
 3. MS. Dairsie K.S. 18/3/1649. Dairsie fees, it will be remembered, were only 6s.8d per quarter; there are very few references to payments for poor scholars, and the population was rather less, in 1755, than that of Balmerino.
- With these estimates cf. the statement of Stevenson (Presbytrie Book, Intro. p.XIII) that the average parish schoolmaster in Kirkcaldy Presbytery, with his salary of 150 marks in the period 1643 to 1653, was poorly off compared with the mason or wright "who with constant work could earn approximately £7.10s (sterling) per annum". This is true enough, if we ignore every part of the schoolmaster's income but his salary. And in the above calculations nothing has been allowed for housemail.

he was also Session Clerk, he was not too badly off. But in such places as Aberdour and Pittenweem, with salaries of no more than £40, only half of what the schoolmaster received in school fees, and no registration fees, his condition at times must have been will nigh intolerable. In 1650 the doctor in Aberdour had been promised 50 merks (out of the penalties), 3s.4d per quarter from every school child, "and they are to think upone ane way... that voluntarillie everie pleugh in the landwart will give either in victuall or in moneyes and to see also what everie honest man in the toune will give voluntarillie by year for the advancing of so good ane worke". (1) Just how much the "honest men" were prepared to give was shown six months later, when the Session was constrained to indulge in a house to house collection to gather in the money promised, and "that to be done with all diligence by reasone of the doctor's necessitie". (2) Even worse was the state of the doctor in Pittenweem. After "pondering his indigent estate", aggravated by the fact that "many schoolers were not abill to give him interteainment" they decided to give him 6s a week out of the box - and, a more striking evidence of his poverty, ordered two of their number to "buy ane suite of cloathes, and cause make thain to him and also sailing cloathe as well four sarkes to him, and cause make all and give him". (3)

Let us now turn to the conditions of appointment of the teacher, and consider what security of tenure he had in burgh or parish school, when once appointed. There were three kinds of appointment - for life, for a period, or during the pleasure of his employers. In making

1. MS. Aberdour K.S. 11/6/1650. 2. Ibid 27/1/1651.
3. MS. Pittenweem K.S. (in P.R.) 16/4/1650.

their appointments the Town Councils (and for that matter the Kirk Sessions) seem to have acted as fancy took them. The Town Council of Kirkcaldy, for example, in 1588 made an appointment for three years; in 1591 for one year; and in 1674 "durante vita aut culpa". (1) It is possible that the master who then demitted, and who had entered 44 years before (2) had been appointed for life too, judging by the manoeuvres to get rid of him. Already by 1666 he was drawing a pension of 348 (though he still continued to be the schoolmaster, and still continued to do some teaching), a pension which from that year was continued to him at the Council's pleasure. (3) But one of his assistants at least was appointed for one year and then "at pleasure". (4) In Cupar a schoolmaster was appointed in 1638 for one year, and as long thereafter as the Town Council pleased; (5) but when Mr. Andre Anderson was appointed in 1648, nothing was said of a limited term, or "during pleasure" - presumably his was a life appointment. (6) Mr. John Williamsone, however, was appointed for only one year in 1660. (7) The schoolmasters of Dunfermline (to judge from the terms of Queen Anne's Mortification and the absence of any statement in the Burgh Records that appointments were for a term, or during pleasure) were appointed for life, but the doctors were not. In 1646 the Kirk Session, who had a say in the appointment, took one on trial for six months, and another, in 1648, for only three months, (8) while in 1665 the Town Council appointed one "during pleasure". (9) In 1658 the Dysart Town Council appointed one schoolmaster

1. Macbean, p.120, p.130, & MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 23/11/1674. 2. Stevenson, Presbytrie Book, 30/12/1630. 3. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 5/2/1666 & 2/11/1674. 4. Ibid, 5/2/1666. 5. MS. Cupar B.R. 28/2/1638. 6. Ibid 16/4/1648 & 27/4/1648. 7. Ibid 13/11/1661 - "the time that the burgh ... did agrie with (John Williamsone) is expyred at Martinmas"; and above, p.68, for his entry. 8. Extracts, 17/5/1646 & 2/4/1648. 9. Shearer, p.275.

for two years, and his successor for one year only. (1) On the other hand, in Burntisland, as we have seen, the appointments of master and doctor were probably always "at pleasure", throughout the seventeenth century. (2)

The parishes ordered things in much the same way. In 1626 the Kirk Session of Ceres appointed a schoolmaster, apparently for life; but when Sir Thomas Hope endowed the school in 1631, he "freely resigned" at the request of the Kirk Session. (3) The new schoolmaster was appointed on condition that he walked discreetly, kept the usual hours in the school, and for three years intended no marriage without first informing the Kirk Session, (4) (- an unparalleled condition; did the session fear that a wife might mean a larger schoolhouse?) And when this young man removed in September, 1632, his successor was appointed for three years only. (5) In Markinch the first schoolmaster of whom we have knowledge died in harness after at least twelve years' service; there is no indication that his was anything but a life appointment. (6) His successor (in 1640) was appointed for two years only. (7) And even shorter periods are found. In 1648 Carnock Kirk Session took on a schoolmaster for six months in the first instance; (8) while in Wemyss a schoolmaster was appointed for only three months, with the provision that if his conduct was pleasing, he would be engaged for a longer period. (9)

All appointments in burgh or parish were terminable on what the Kirk regarded as bad conduct. Serious criminal offences were, as one

1. MS. Dysart B.R. 6/12/1658; 8/6/1660 & 24/12/1660. 2. See above, p.53, & MS. Burntisland B.R. 12/11/1660 & 16/8/1669. 3. MS. Ceres K.S. (in P.R.) 25/6/1626 & 10/7/1631. 4. Ibid 11/9/1631. 5. Ibid 21/4/1633. 6. See Appendix, Markinch. 7. MS. Markinch K.S. 10/4/1642. 8. Webster, Carnock, p. 158. 9. MS. Wemyss K.S. 1/12/1657.

would hope in a profession with more than its share of students of divinity and expectants, extremely unusual; only one example is known in this period, and then "the poor criminal" fled and saved the session the trouble of dismissing him. (1) But fornication, drunkenness, and swearing were common enough, and all were liable if detected, to lead to dismissal, as the doctor of Dunfermline school, it will be remembered, found. He was found guilty on two counts; had he confined himself to one, he might have been able to make his peace with the Kirk, and keep his post. That, at least, was the good fortune of Mr. Harry Page of Kilrenny, who in 1649 was dismissed, "showed himself trulie penitent" before the Presbytery, and was reinstated as schoolmaster and session clerk. (2) And the schoolmaster and session clerk of Largo, who was dismissed by the Presbytery of St. Andrews "for profanlie taking the name of the divill in his mouthe twyse, for ordinary tippling and drinking, and not praying alwayes, evening and morning, in the sehole, but sometimes onlie; as also much given to mocking and taunting", yet managed to regain his offices, though when he satisfied before the congregation in 1653 he can have had little hope of doing so. (3)

That schoolmasters then, as later, were guilty of "unprofessional conduct" - immorality, tippling and swearing, mocking and taunting - and were dismissed for their errors, need not surprise us. What is surprising is the absence, in an age which saw the state religion change from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism, from Presbyterianism to Episcopacy, and then to Presbyterianism again, of any recorded instance of dismissal for

1. N.S.A. Beath (Quoting Beath K.S. 1640) 2. MS. St.Andrews Pres. 10/10/1649 & 7/11/1649. 3. Lamont, pp.69 & 276. He remained indeed as Session Clerk and Precentor, to read in the parish church "while the bread and wine was going about ... some chapters of John's gospell" - Ibid, p.25.

nonconformity to the official mode of worship. In striking contrast with the period from 1660 to 1843, when every revolution in Church or State produced its crop of outed schoolmasters, the 100 years before 1660 produced only two schoolmasters who were in danger of dismissal because of suspected disaffection towards the established Kirk. In 1573 the Minister of Dunfermline charged Mr. Henryson to abstain from all further teaching in the Burgh School on pain of excommunication, evidently because he was not satisfied with the sincerity of his conversion; but the Privy Council upheld Henryson's appeal, and he kept his post; (1) and more than 70 years later the schoolmaster of Inverkeithing confessed the grievousness of his sin in speaking against the rebels in the West Country; but he too was permitted to remain in his school. (2)

Finally, before we leave the question of the schoolmaster's security of tenure, we must note the interesting case of the schoolmaster on "National Service". "I advertised our people" wrote the minister of Carnock in 1643 "that everie minister in Scotland was desyrit to send out a fencible man to go to England to withstand the violence of the Papistes armies that were myndit to invade us ... and that this armie that the ministers suld send out suld be as it were a guard to the Generall himself. ... and thairfor it was expedient to get the best experimentit men for that gud erand that culd be gotten; quhair upon I resolvit to desyre James Denestoun, our reider, quha had been in England the yearis befor, to be the man that I wald send out, and thairfor disyrit the Sessions lieve to that effect ... and that his plaice to be reider and schoolmaster heir suld be keipit to him, if it suld please God that he suld returne to us." (3)

1. R.P.C. 1st Series, Vol.II (13/10/1573)
2. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 25/3/1649.
3. Webster, Carnock, p.157.

What was to become of those schoolmasters who had no life appointment, and through ill luck, incompetence or old age were unable to gain or to keep a post in a parish or burgh school? If they were not too old they might open an adventure school. (1) But that, we know, was a precarious means of livelihood; and even where the adventurer was tolerated, poor health or old age would set a term to it. Then there would be nothing but the charity of his neighbours if in his years of employment he had not been able to provide against the bad times; that, and resort to the Kirk Poor Box. "Distribut to Thomas MacLechallan sometime schoolmaster at Leslie"; (2) "to William McLelan once a schoolmaster a poor suppliant 12d"; (3) "to ane distressed man former gramer schoolmaster"; (4) "In charitie to one Mr Andrew Clerck who once did teach the school in the parish"; (5) "to Mr Johne Duncane sometyme schoolmaster at dunbug - 18s" (6) such is the record these unfortunates leave. They (or some minister on their behalf) might even appeal to the Presbytery and all the Sessions in the bounds would be asked to help. (7) A parish might, however, show greater care for a faithful servant than these entries indicate. When Adame Blackwood, schoolmaster of Wemyss resigned in 1648, the Minister and Kirk Session appealed not only to the heritors and parishioners to provide him with maintenance "during his lyfetime", but also to the men of Buckhaven "that hes boattes goeing to the Sea" to give something "out of their liberalitie". (8) What the result

1. e.g. Moreysoun in Kirkcaldy in 1587 (Macbean, p.118) & Rough in Kilrenny, MS. Kilrenny K.S. 27/5/1649. 2. MS. Kennoway K.S. 25/1/1662. 3. MS. Ferry K.S. 26/10/1657. 4. MS. Logie K.S. 4/11/1660. 5. MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 25/7/1669. 6. MS. Newburgh K.S. 29/5/1659. 7. e.g. Presbytery of Kirkcaldy, 25/10/1648 - "Alexander Fraser a poore supplicant scholemaster recommended to the particular Sessions" and a similar entry in 12/3/1651. For other payments in the parishes see Markinch K.S. 17/9/1654; 22/11/1657; 1/2/1662. Duncane, mentioned above, was "recommended by the Presbytery". 8. MS. Wemyss K.S. 2/5/1648 & 30/7/1648.

of this appeal was we do not know; but Blackwoode received £10 and 2s from the Box in the next two years. (1) Then the Session altered the rates for registering baptisms and marriages, and granted them all to Blackwood - 13s.4d per baptism and 33s.4d per marriage. (2) Finally:- "19 Nov 1651 for Adame Blackwoode 8 lib 6s.4d. Item more for the said defunct 5 lib 13s.4d whilk payes his wholle debtes as his relict spouse declared before the Session". (3)

Sometimes, as the last quotation shows, the Kirk Session helped the schoolmaster's widow, either, as in Wemyss, by paying her husband's debts, or, as in Kennoway, by granting her regular payments from the Box. (4) On the other hand, the Magistrates do not seem to have recognised any obligation to the widows of the burgh schoolmasters, in this century at least. There was another method which might have been used to ensure that schoolmasters' widows, if they had a modicum of teaching ability, need not starve - the granting of permission to open an Adventure school in the usually well guarded preserves of the parish; a method which had the advantage of not costing Kirk Session or Town Council anything. By this means the Aberdour Kirk Session assisted their ex-Minister's orphaned daughters for some years before 1661. (5) But it is not until 1718 that we meet an example of a schoolmaster's widow being so assisted; and if this form of charity was granted at all before 1660, it

1. MS. Wemyss K.S. 3/7/1649 & 15/7/1650. 2. Ibid 9/2/1651. 3. Ibid, sub anno. 4. MS. Kennoway K.S. 29/7/1658; 16/9/1666; 9/9/1667. Pensions to schoolmasters' widows became quite common in the next century - see MS. Aberdour K.S. 17/11/1762; MS. Dunbog K.S. 2/4/1762; MS. Kilrenny K.S. 6/5/1783 - 18/3/1786 passim, & MS. Cupar B.R. 13/10/1795. 5. MS. Aberdour K.S. 15/1/1661.

must have been granted rarely. (1)

We may ask what kind of man, with what kind of qualifications, embarked on this career, with its varying salaries, its varying conditions of appointment, its general lack of security. And how long did he stay in his post? These questions have been to some extent answered. We have seen that by 1636, at the latest, one Presbytery (and no doubt the same tale would be told by the records of the others, if they had not perished) was trying the candidates for schools and failing some of them. The 'Mr' that is prefixed to the majority of the names in our lists of schoolmasters indicates that most were graduates, for what that was worth. The evidence of the records they wrote as session clerks is all in favour of the belief that they were on the whole better educated than those who succeeded them in the first half of the eighteenth century. And there is the fact that at the beginning of our period many of the schoolmasters were also Ministers of the Kirk, and that, although this double appointment is not found after 1600, in very many of the parishes and burghs at all periods from 1580 to 1660 - and indeed for long afterwards - the schoolmaster was often a student of divinity. How many of these failed to take the next desirable step, and remained 'stickit ministers' we cannot say; and there may have been more than one who, like the schoolmaster of Cupar, refused to continue with his trials (for the Ministry) because he could not be spared from his school. But (in spite of considerable gaps in the records) we can name nine Fife schoolmasters, representing every Presbytery

1. MS. Ferry K.S. 10/6/1718. In 1718 Mrs. Kid, relict of Mr. John Kid, ex-schoolmaster of Ferry (who had been dismissed in 1696, and had appealed for charity to the Presbytery) died, and her daughter desired to carry on the school she had been conducting. (As is obvious from the entry, this can only have been with the warrant of the Kirk Session.)

and every decade, who succeeded in moving from the master's desk to the pulpit, and one who made his way to a professorial chair. (1)

That the schools drew many of their masters from the ranks of the Divinity students ensured that relatively well educated men were employed. But it was a system that had its obvious disadvantages, tending as it did to staff the schools with the disappointed or with mere birds of passage. Moreover, the Divinity student schoolmaster had to exercise before the Presbytery, and that on week days. It is not surprising, therefore, that attempts were made to lessen the damage that might be done to the schools under these circumstances. When, for example, Mr. George Bennett, a student of Divinity, was appointed schoolmaster of Ceres in 1631, it was laid down that he was to absent himself from the school on only one afternoon in the week, when he was exercising before the Presbytery. (2) It is improbable, however, that the parish authorities insisted on conditions any stronger than that; the shortage of suitable masters would preclude all measures which might bar the

1. Fairfoul, schoolmaster of Dunfermline before 1582, appointed schoolmaster of Culross in 1603, became minister of Anstruther Wester; Sibbald, schoolmaster of Dunfermline 1618-1629, minister of Torryburn; Cunningham, schoolmaster of Forgan 1598-1611, minister of Ferry Port-on-Craig; Leslie, schoolmaster of Newburgh 1611-1622, minister of Newburgh; Paterson, schoolmaster of Creich in 1660, minister of Dairsie in 1665; Balvaird, schoolmaster in Auchtertool 1631-37, minister of Hoy (Stevenson, Auchtertool, p.116); Littlejohn, reader in Dysart in 1633, minister in Collessie by 1641; Cochrane, schoolmaster in Dysart in 1651, minister 'in the North' in 1652; Myles, schoolmaster in Leslie in 1652, minister in Flisk in 1660. (See Fasti under parishes, and Muir, Gleanings, p.57) Melvill's epitaph (Diary p.100) on Mr. William Clark - "That thow a master was, as yet thy schollars skill can prove" gives us notice of another. Mr James Allan, student of Divinity and Schoolmaster at Dysart, became Professor of Humanity in St. Leonards College - Lamont, p.27.

2. MS. Ceres K.S. 11/9/1631.

licentiate from their schools. But at a later date, though the parochial schoolmaster might continue to absent himself from the school to complete his trials for the ministry, some of the burghs were able to take a former line. Offering higher salaries and better conditions of service than the parishes could afford, with more candidates coming forward than previously, they had the power to demand that the student of divinity should either refrain from "entering the office of preaching" or give up his post in the burgh school. (1)

No doubt the employment of students of Divinity and expectants had much to do with the relatively short stays which so many of the schoolmasters made in their posts. There were other reasons, of course - the variations in conditions of service between parish and parish and burgh and burgh encouraged the ambitious to move in search of betterment; and it is plain from the terms of engagement that many Kirk Sessions and Town Councils did not regard a rapid succession of schoolmasters as an evil, though at least one Presbytery did. (2) As we have seen, the doctors of Dunfermline and the schoolmasters of Cupar and Dysart changed at short intervals. And the same rapid succession is found in the parochial schools too. In Forgan there were four schoolmasters between 1653 and 1660; in Ceres four between 1626 and 1640; and in Kennoway five between 1648 and 1665. (3)

Yet even in this matter there was no general practice or custom. Cupar doctors, Dunfermline schoolmasters, and Mr John Malcolm, who taught in Kirkcaldy school from 1630 to 1674, all show that the dominie

1. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 30/6/1673, see below p. 2. MS. Cupar Pres.
14/7/1659 - "Do not change the schoolmaster so often" - to Collessie K.S.
3. See Appendix, Forgan, Ceres, & Kennoway schoolmasters.

who spent a life time in one school was not unknown in the seventeenth century. In the parishes too were to be found schoolmasters who spent a generation or more in the one school. Between 1626 and 1664 there were four schoolmasters in Markinch with periods of service of 14 years, two years, one year, and 20 years. Auchtermachty kept one schoolmaster from 1611 (if not earlier) until 1649; Largo one from 1636 till 1670; and Scoonie one from 1626 until 1654. (1)

The status which the schoolmaster enjoyed was no doubt to some extent dependent on the personal qualities he showed. But since the Reformation the Western World, and perhaps especially Scotland, has tended to value a man according to his income. (2) And many of the parochial schoolmasters, as we have seen, were often in sore financial straits. Again, such phrases as "the young man" or "this young man deserving encouragement" which occur so often in accounts of trials and appointments indicate a certain condescension and a lack of respect. The Kirk Sessions' powers of inspection, too, and the number of short term or "on-approval" appointments would often keep the schoolmaster in a very subordinate position. It is significant that in this period no parish schoolmaster was elected an Elder of the Kirk, a position carrying respect if not affection. Scholars like Melville might honour a schoolmaster whose worth they could appreciate; to many of the heritors and tenants he would be at best a harmless necessary drudge and at worst one to be bilked if possible and one whose attempts to transfer money from their pockets to his incited, as the schoolmaster of Aburdour complained, "their hatred and malice". (3) Their hatred and malice

1. See Appendix under Parishes and Burghs for details. 2. In the absence, of course, of noble birth. 3. MS. Aburdour K.S. 6/6/1658.

he might have borne had they been coupled with respect; but that he was hardly likely to earn in such parishes as Ferry Port-on-Craig or Carnock where he had to go from door to door begging for a twentieth or a thirtieth part of his salary.

Yet this is not the whole story. Even in a schoolmaster's request for the augmentation of his salary we may sometimes catch a note of independence. He would choose rather to continue in his post than remove, Mr. Andrew Bryan told the Kirk Session of Pittenweem in 1647, "provyding always that he might have a competent maintenance, because till his own tryall and experience he could not in ane honest way beare out his charge".(1) But not all the schoolmasters were badly or tardily paid. In the wealthier parishes and burghs, with their better salaries and fees, the schoolmaster, particularly if he were a licentiate, might have a status a little lower than that of the parish minister. In the nature of things, of course, those occasions when the schoolmaster was at odds with his neighbours, and when he was not paid promptly or fully, are recorded; but the other occasions, when the Kirk Session or the Town Council approved of his work and ensured that he was paid steadily, are to be discovered chiefly between the lines. The 23 consecutive receipts for salary (from 1602 to 1623) and a short reference in the Records of the Privy Council, is nearly all that we are given concerning Mr. Harry Dansken of St. Andrews. (2) Yet it is difficult to believe that he, master of a school of great standing, drawing his salary regularly, recognised by his neighbours as a poet and a scholar, did not enjoy a considerable measure of respect. And at least three of his

1. MS. Pittenweem K.S. 9/2/1647. 2. See above, p.60.

fellow schoolmasters had a certain measure of civic dignity conferred upon them. Mr. George Duddingston, schoolmaster of Markinch, was made a burgess of Kirkealdy in 1628; (1) Mr. James Dalgleish, schoolmaster of Dunfermline, was made a burgess of Dunfermline in 1609; (2) and Mr. Scott, schoolmaster of Cupar, was made a burgess of his burgh before 1647. (3) And sometimes a Town Council spoke out, and recorded its satisfaction with a faithful servant. Let us set against the hatred and malice of the heritors of Aberdour the warm words of the Dunfermline Councillors in 1619, when they referred to "the love they carie towards Mr James Sibbald thair schoolmaster in respect of the guid and forderance of the toun in his place and calling". (4)

1. Macbean, p.159. 2. Shearer, p.68. 3. MS. Cupar B.R. 22/12/1647.
4. Shearer, p.122.

From the Restoration to the Act of 1696.

The period we have now to consider has been strangely ignored in accounts of Scottish education. It is true that between 1661 and 1695 there are no dramatic developments within the class room, no great sweeping enactments, no outstanding changes of curriculum, no revolution in aims and methods. Yet there is the interest of a story of growth and change, of a system developing in an era of civil and religious strife - an era which opens with one purge of ministers and teachers and closes with another. And to this interest a second is added; for what was done in establishing and maintaining schools during this period reflects a light backward and forward. It enables us to judge both the strength of the educational foundations laid by those whose duty it was to administer the Act of 1646, and the worth of the Act of 1633; and it enables us to see the eighteenth century educational world in true perspective - to see it, that is, not as a further stage in a slow, steady progress; but rather as a world endeavouring to re-establish what had been severely damaged in the turmoil of the last years of the seventeenth century.

For almost a year after Charles II landed at Dover, there was no change in the legal basis of Scottish education. The Act of 1646 continued to be administered; the Presbyteries continued their visitations and their endeavours to ensure "that schools in ilk parish be weil sein to and attendit for instructing the youth and that all young ones be appoyntit to be put to schools". (1) Then on the 28th March, 1661, the Act Recissory, by wiping out all legislation from 1633 to 1649, destroyed the Education Act of 1646. The minimum salary of 100 merks, the "commodious house for the

1. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 26/9/1660. See also MS. St. Andrews Pres. 1660-1662, passim.

schoolmaster", the provision for stenting the heritors - all these disappeared. In their place was left the Act of the Privy Council of 1616 - re-enacted by Parliament in 1633 - which now became, and for 35 years remained, the foundation of the national system of education.

It looks as if the Synod of Fife - which continued to meet regularly (apart from that period when all church courts were suspended) (1) and continued to enforce the act forbidding anyone to teach in a school "without a licence from the ordinary of the diocese" (2) - was uncertain about the fundamental educational law. In any event it was not until 1666 that it advised the brethren that in future they "should walk according to the Act of Parliament in King James his time for the settling of schooles in their several parishes". (3)

The Fife in which the Kirk assemblies attempted, not unsuccessfully, to implement this "Act of King James his time" was in many ways a less favourable place for educational advance than the Fife of 1630. The coastal burghs had been dealt fierce blows by the wars; their shipping had been destroyed; and the decay referred to be Thomas Tucker (4) was not arrested until well into the next century. For example, by 1691 Dysart was "altogether without trade", having come to decay "by the intestine and unnatural war against Montrose, when the maist part of the skippeirs and traffiquers were killed and destroyed". In Pittenweem the houses were in so bad a condition "that the great third part are either ruinous or those

1. Law Mathieson, Politics & Religion in Scotland, Vol.II, p.188. In Fife from 6th January 1662 - October 1662. See also MS. Synod, Vol.III, p.1; MS. Dunfermline Pres. 29/10/1662. 2. MS. Synod 16/10/1662 - Oct. 1663, & 5/10/1666. 3. Ibid 5/10/1666. 4. Thomas Tucker, "Report upon the Settlement of the Revenues of the Excise", (Bannatyne Club, MDCLVI) pp.30-32.

in repair standing void" - likewise as a result of the Wars. In Crail there was "no ship of the towne but one old ship of 60 tons burding", and the best house in the town had a rent of only £20 Scots. (1) Anstruther, plundered in 1651, was by 1661 in danger of becoming "altogether ruinous and desolat". (2) St. Andrews was, by the beginning of our period, in an equally desperate position, its Common Good exhausted, its harbour in urgent need of repair. (3) Only in places was there much hope along the Fife shore - as in Wemyss and Methil, where the Earl of Wemyss, by his active and intelligent management, had developéd the coal and salt trade amazingly; (4) and in Kirkcaldy, which in 1676 was able to augment the salary of its schoolmaster. Inland, although the wealth of the country might be "more in its fertile soil than in its commerce", the immense exactions of the Cromwellian government had severely weakened burghs and parishes. (5) Even Cupar - which in 1667 and 1668 no doubt was glad to save money by combining the posts of doctor and schoolmaster (6) - found it extremely difficult in 1689 to pay the schoolmaster's salary. (7) And there were two periods of bad harvests in this half century. The first, in 1675, seriously reduced at least one Session's funds, and drew a cry about the hardness of the times from another. (8)

1. Municipal Corporation Report - Appendix, Report on the Royal Burghs 1691; and (on Pittenweem) "Annals of Pittenweem", ed. David Cook (Anstruther, 1867) Preface p.IV. 2. R.P.C. 3rd Series, Vol.I, p.290. 3. Ibid, 3rd Series, Vol.I, p.290. In 1684 St.Andrews lost a schoolmaster because of poor payment of his salary. MS. St. Andrews B.R. 25/5/1684. In the "History of Alyth Parish Church", James Meikle, (Edinburgh, 1933) p.101, are extracts from the Alyth K.S. Records showing collections in 1658 and 1659 for the harbours of Crail and St. Andrews. See also William Douglas - "Some Historical Remarks on the City of St.Andrews", pp.8 & 9 for the ruinous condition of the town and the poverty of half its 4,000 inhabitants in 1728. 4. Scottish Diaries & Memoirs, ed. J.G.Fyfe (Stirling 1927) pp.118-132. 5. "Scotland under the Protectorate" (Scot.Hist.Soc.) p.176. 6. MS. Cupar B.R. 8/10/1667 & 1/8/1668. 7. Ibid, 16/3/1689; 13/11/1693. There was a disastrous fire in Cupar in 1669 (MS. Synod 6/10/1669); collections were taken in the parishes for the relief of the town - e.g. Markinch sent £52. (MS. Markinch K.S. 29/5/1670.) 8. MS. Beath K.S. 14/11/1675 (in P.R.); MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 2/7/1675.

But this was a mild visitation compared with the dearth that afflicted the county (and indeed the whole country) in the seven years from 1693. These periods of scarcity, which sometimes became periods of famine, must be noticed here; for apart from the misery they caused, they gravely impaired the power of the Kirk Sessions to pay their Session Clerks. (1)

To leave the matter at this point would, however, give too gloomy a picture. It must be asserted again that Fife was predominantly an agricultural county; that it was a relatively fertile county; and that, from all the evidence that can be derived from the parish records, the good years outnumbered the bad. The tax gatherer could not carry off the fertility, and an agricultural society (particularly a relatively backward society like that of seventeenth century Scotland) was less easily disrupted than a trading society such as was found in the coastal burghs. And so we find our landward parishes building schools and subsidising poor scholars on a scale that would have been impossible for utterly impoverished communities. (2)

None the less, even with this qualification, it is plain that economically the county had been weakened. But perhaps more dangerous to education were the religious troubles of the epoch. As we have said, throughout this period (and for long after) the Kirk was the main agency for the supervision and administration of the nation's schools. Any wholesale outing of ministers was therefore serious; and in Fife about one third of the ministers were deprived of their livings between 1660 and 1666

1. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 26/11/1696 - "Poor in great suffering in this time of scarcity"; MS. Dunbog K.S. 10/7/1697 - "Money being so little the session thought fitt to delay any payment to Session Clerk". See also MS. Dunbog K.S. 15/9/1697. 2. See, for example, MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 2/11/1663, 22/9/1685; MS. Dunbog 21/12/1672; MS. Dairsie K.S. 8/10/1671; MS. Wemyss K.S. 29/3/1694; MS. Kennoway K.S. 6/3/1691. For poor scholars - MS. Ferry Port-on-Craig K.S. 1/3/1663 to 5/5/1671 passim; MS. Beath K.S. (in P.R.) 14/6/1674; MS. Falkland K.S. (in P.R.) 4/11/1688 on.

for refusing to conform to Episcopacy. Moreover, the greater part of these dismissals took place in one Presbytery which was less fully provided with schools than the others. St. Andrews, with 19 parishes, lost 11 of its ministers. Cupar Presbytery, which likewise had 19 parishes, lost five ministers, and Kirkcaldy, with 14 parishes, lost only one. (1) It is true the vacancies were soon filled, (2) and filled by men who were given every encouragement to do their duty by the schools. (3) But, as we have seen, the schools could only be maintained by a strong working alliance between at least two members of a group consisting of Minister, Kirk Session, and Heritors; and the outing of a minister might well endanger the alliance. Or the deprived minister might (as the minister of Carnock did) carry his schoolmaster with him in his defiance of conformity and submission to the bishops.

There lay the second danger. The large number of deposed clergymen was a symptom of the deep religious division in the county. The division was not healed in that half century; Fife became the greatest centre of Covenanting zeal outside the Whig South-West, holding great Field Conventicles on Sharp's very doorstep. (4) And where feelings were so strong among the laity, it was to be expected that many schoolmasters would refuse to conform, with the risk (though not, as we shall see, the certainty) of dismissal.

Even the Laodiceans among the schoolmasters, placed between a grim and persecuting prelacy growing more determined on submission as civil

1. Law Mathieson, op.cit., Vol.2, pp.192,193. 2. Fasti, Vol.V, under various parishes. 3. MS. Synod 5/10/1666; 21/4/1669; MS. Dunfermline Pres. 27/4/1669; MS. St. Andrews Pres. 15/11/1665, 15/4/1668. 4. Kinkell in 1674. The first Field Conventicle in Fife was at Strathmiglo in 1669, followed by Beath Hill in 1670. Law Mathieson, op.cit., p.264. "On one Sunday as many as 1,600 worshipping in the fields". Ibid, p.265.

unrest grew greater, and a fierce minority who would have no such truckling to Beelzebub, could not keep out of trouble. So Mr. Alexander Coupar "(laitt) Schoolmaster of Culross" found. "Thomas Lies, ane of ye ordinar officers of the burt of Culross, upone ane Lord's day in time of divine exercise being commanded as he supposes be certaine persons of nott in the said burt animat against the said Mr Alexander becaus he gives obedience to the government of Kirk, Come to the said Mr Alexander while he was presenting to the congregation and violently thrust the book from him." (1) And, it is interesting to note, the Presbytery does not seem to have been able to help Mr. Coupar; when we next hear of him, he is imprisoned within the Tolbooth of Culross, "for deteaning and keiping up the Kirk's registers and rytis". (2)

Accordingly, we must first deal with the efforts of the authorities to ensure that only those who conformed were permitted to teach. In 1662 the Synod sent down its instructions to the Presbyteries that only those who had taken the Archbishop's licence were to teach either in public schools or privately. (3) This order was repeated in 1663 (4) and 1666. (5) It is possible to follow these orders in only two Presbyteries, the records of the others being lost. In Dunfermline, on the first two meetings after the Restoration of Episcopacy, the schoolmasters in the bounds were summoned. Eight of them appeared, and declared their "loyalty and satisfaction with church government". (6) Two - Mr. James Huttone of Carneck and Mr. Robert Wilson of Dalgety - did not appear. No more is heard of Mr. Wilson. Did he conform or quietly fade away? But Huttone did not go quietly. It was

1. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 30/8/1665. 2. D. Beveridge, "Culross and Tulliallan" p. quoting Culross B.R. 11/1/1666. 3. MS. Synod 16/10/1662.
4. Ibid, October, 1663. 5. Ibid, 5/10/1666. 6. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 29/10/1662 & 3/12/1662.

not until 1664 that he appeared before the Presbytery, and then he gave the brethren little satisfaction. Asked if he acknowledged the government of the church he answered "he could not acknowledge it because of his oath given at his laureatione and that if he had the best school in Scotland he rather quytt it. But askitt libertie for advyse till the next meitting." (1) At the next meeting he still refused to acknowledge the government of the kirk and was deposed "from the exercise of any ecclesiastical office at the Kirk of Carnocke." (2) He is not, it will be noticed, deposed from his office of schoolmaster, and although he is referred to as "laitt schoolmaster" in March, 1665, (3) he remained in the parish and in 1681 was described as "schoolmaster of Carnock". His case had been before the Presbytery again (probably the belated result of a new drive which the Synod had instituted in 1672 against disaffected schoolmasters and ministers) (4) and had been referred by them to the higher court. He was "insolent, disorderly, of publick scandall"; his deposition was ordered, and (five months later) executed. (5)

There is only one other certain case of a disaffected schoolmaster in the Presbytery bounds - that of the schoolmaster of Culross. It is true that in Dunfermline in 1675 the schoolmaster was in trouble for his "disorderly carriage", and referred to the Presbytery. (6) But as he had been examined and found qualified by the ministers of Dunfermline at his entry in 1670, (7) it is probable that something other than adherence to the Covenant was the trouble here. (8) But Mr. Michael Potter of Culross lost his post

1. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 7/9/1664. 2. Ibid 29/9/1664. 3. Ibid 29/3/1665. The extract is printed in Webster, Carnock, p.129. At this meeting of the Presbytery there was what looks like an attempt to pin a false charge of theft and forgery on Hutton. 4. MS. Synod 9/10/1672. Just after this date St. Andrews Presbytery also was active against unlicensed schoolmasters. See below p. 5. MS. Synod, April 1681; October 1681. 6. Ibid 6/10/1675. 7. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 3/12/1670. 8. He deserted his post. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 12/2/1676.

for his disaffection, though he too preferred desertion to waiting for the inevitable dismissal, and worse. He was charged with attending Conventicles, "on some day or other since 1st April, 1674", with withdrawing from the parish church, with abusing and debauching and perverting "these of whom he hath the trust in education at the school", and declared a rebel. (1)

In the Presbytery of St. Andrews there were, as might be expected, rather more schoolmasters in trouble on account of religious difficulties. A round of visitations immediately after the Restoration of episcopacy satisfied the Presbytery with the schoolmasters; but in 1666 the schoolmaster of Kemback who "flatly refused" to sing the doxology (part of his duty as precentor) or to take his licence to teach from the Archbishop was discharged from his school. (2) We hear of no other dismissals for nonconformity until 1674, when the Presbytery instituted a drive against those who had for several years continued to teach without a licence. (3) The schoolmaster of Forgan, his minister complained in December 1674, had refused long before 1673 "to be reader and precentor ... and kept and still keeps a school in the parish contrary to the ministers will he being a keeper of conventicles and a disapprover of the present government of the church". (4) Four months later the schoolmaster offered to remove rather than take the licence, and was dismissed. (5) Shortly after this the schoolmasters of Kemback (i.e. the new schoolmaster) and Anstruther Easter were deposed (6) and the schoolmaster of Pittenweem, in spite of the support he got from "some

1. R.P.C. 3rd Series, Vol.V, p.143. The magistrates of Culross were cited for permitting him, a fugitive, to be settled there as schoolmaster. They pleaded ignorance and declared that he had gone to Holland. Later Potter was caught and sent to the Bass Rock. R.P.C. 3rd Series, Vol.VII, p.5. 2. MS. St.Andrews Pres. 30/1/1666. 3. Ibid 9/12/1674 - "The brethren reported that they knew none in their respective parishes who would refuse to receive licence from the Archbishop at his return and thought it not fitt to name those who had not obtained being willing." 4. Ibid 9/12/1674. 5. Ibid 7/4/1675. 6. Ibid 17/11/1675; 6/9/1676; 28/2/1677.

persons of quality" would have been similarly treated if he had not resigned. (1)

But although sentences were passed, it is possible that here, as in the Presbytery of Dunfermline, they were not always speedily executed. Thus, a certain Andro Buttercase was deposed from Kemback in 1677 - for nonconformity; but in 1686 the schoolmaster there was also an Andro Buttercase. (2) Was this the same man, and the man who took the Test in 1681? (3) The unusual name tempts us to identify the two as one. Or again we note what looks very much like passive resistance to the demands of the Church authorities on the part of the Pittenweem Town Council, who, in the absence of their own nonconforming schoolmaster in the South, before his final removal, employed the ousted schoolmaster of Anstruther Easter, Mr. James Halsone. But on this occasion at least the Presbytery moved quickly, and the bailies were ordered to dismiss Halsone (4) - his second dismissal in three months. (5)

These we have mentioned are the only cases to come before the Presbytery of St. Andrews. Of course it may be that there were other schoolmasters who lost their posts because of religious scruples - men who demitted without waiting for a summons from the Presbytery. But if so, they have left no trace. Nor is it possible to compute what disorganisation, what loss by the temporary closing of schools, was involved in the dismissals of which we have trace. What does emerge from the records of this Presbytery, however, is that the structure of public education was not

1. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 6/9/1676; 6/12/1676; 28/2/1677. 2. Ibid 13/9/1686.
3. Ibid 14/12/1681 - names of those who took the Test. 4. Ibid 6/12/1676.
5. By 1681 Pittenweem had provided itself with a schoolmaster who took the Test. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 14/12/1681 & Appendix.

basically weakened. (1)

This, as far as is known, was also the case in the Presbyteries of Cupar and Kirkcaldy. Indeed, in the burghs in their bounds not one schoolmaster was dismissed in this period for nonconformity. To landward, it is true, there are signs of disaffection and upheaval. In 1678 the Synod had under consideration the fate of four schoolmasters from within Cupar Presbytery; the masters of Balmerino, Ceres, Falkland, and Strathmiglo schools, who had all refused to take the Archbishop's licence, (2) and who, if they continued obstinate, were to be deposed. (3) Of these four, at least one, the schoolmaster of Balmerino, kept his place (until 1710) but whether he took the licence is not known. (4) Such evidence as there is points to new appointments in Ceres and Falkland during the year 1682 - a significant date - but one cannot be sure. (5) And there is no record of the ins and outs of schoolmasters in Strathmiglo at this time. It is possible, then, that of our four schoolmasters, three were dismissed. Even so, in two cases at least (Ceres and Falkland) the schools did not stand empty. In Kirkcaldy Presbytery, it would seem, no parish schoolmaster lost his post for refusal to take either the Archbishop's licence or the Test. (6) Moreover, each Presbytery can show many

1. In 1681-5, the chaplains, pedagogues & schoolmasters in the bounds who took the Test numbered 21 (MS. St. Andrews Pres. 14/12/1681). Eleven of these can be identified as schoolmasters; there are also three parishes which certainly had schools - Newburn, Kingsbarns, Kilrenny (see Appendix). Of the others, Anstruther Easter, Cameron, Dunino, Forgan, & St. Monans, only Forgan & Dunino cannot be shown to have had schoolmasters by 1693 (see Appendix). 2. Counting Falkland (where by 1688 the heritors made the appointment) as a landward parish. 3. Synod, 20/10/1678 - quoted Rev. J. Campbell, Diocese & Presbytery of Dunkeld (Hodder & Stoughton, 1918) Vol. I, p. 70. 4. Appendix, Balmerino. 5. Appendix, Ceres & Falkland. 6. But the note, inserted under date 26th August, 1689, in the Wemyss K.S. minutes explaining the loss of the records from 10th September, 1682, and 1st July, 1684, i.e. "betwixt the time that Mr Thomas Blaire sometime schoolmaster and precentor heere laide downe his charge and the time of the admission of Mr John Moir as schoolmaster & precentor" may point to a dismissal. The date is again significant. There is no hint of an interim schoolmaster. Moir, as mentioned below, took the Test.

parishes where schoolmaster succeeded schoolmaster in the normal way; and each has its examples of long service men:- the schoolmasters of Balmerino, of Dairsie, and of Newburgh, (in the bounds of Cupar); and within Kirkcaldy Presbytery, the schoolmasters of Auchtertool, Kirkcaldy, Kinghorn, and Wemyss. (1) It is probable that all these took the Archbishop's licence; certainly anyone who held his post through the difficult years from 1677 to 1684 would be thoroughly examined, and would have to take the Test. And lucky the man who, having thus bowed in the house of Rimmon, was able to slip away quietly before the new inquisition set up by the Presbyteries of the Revolution should demand what he meant by "complying with Episcopacie, being a Government of humane invention". (2)

The new purge was not completed immediately after the Revolution, though when the news of James VII's flight from Whitehall reached the schoolmasters of Fife, the more farsighted of them must have begun to tremble for their schools; but until Presbyterianism was re-established in 1690, they could not be moved, legally at least. (3) Even then the reconstituted Presbyteries, sadly shrunk by the removal of all those ministers who were unwilling (or not permitted) to accept the new order of Church government, had at first more pressing tasks in hand than the examination of schoolmasters. In the south of the county so many pulpits were vacant that between 1689 and 1696 the presbyteries of Dunfermline and Kirkcaldy had to merge and form one united Presbytery. (4) It was not until

1. See Appendix. 2. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 5/3/1691. 3. In 1690 (Act for visiting of Schools and Colleges) it was enacted that masters were to sign the Confession of Faith and take the Oath of Allegiance. But note it was not until 1693 that schoolmasters were declared subject to the jurisdiction of the Presbytery of the bounds. (Acts of Parl. of Scotland, IX 303b)
4. MS. Joint Presbytery of Dunfermline & Kirkcaldy, 1690-1696.

1692 that the Cupar Présbytery of the newly established Church met - and even then seven of its 19 parish churches were vacant. And in St. Andrews, in which every parish minister but two was deposed, there were five churches still vacant in 1692. (1) But if this preoccupation of the Presbyteries with filling their churches gave the stubborn Episcopalians among the schoolmasters a breathing space - though they might, of course, suffer at the hands of the Kirk Sessions - and so was advantageous to the cause of Education, it also meant that the Presbyteries were unable to give vigorous and effective encouragement to Minister and Heritors to supply any vacant schools without delay. As we know, the help of the Presbytery in keeping the heritors up to the mark was often needed. It would not be surprising if a number of parishes were, in these circumstances, left without schoolmasters. And certainly when the presbyteries began once more to visit congregations and press for the provision of schoolmasters, they found a number of vacancies. Not all of these, of course, can be ascribed to the years of ecclesiastical turmoil. Some may have been of long standing, as we have seen, and evidence of the failure of the episcopal presbyteries to do their educational duty with sufficient thoroughness. (2) But in at least one parish (Monimail) it is highly probable that the vacancy in the school from 1689 to 1693 was due to the lack of presbyterial supervision in those years. (3)

To these negative destructive effects of the Revolution were soon added the positive ones. The first Presbytery to go into action and

1. Kilrenny & Kingsbarns did not lose their ministers. The majority were deprived in 1689; but the minister of Dunino was not deprived until 1693, and the minister of Pittenweem (ostensibly for drunkenness, after an unsuccessful attempt on religious grounds) until 1692. 2. See below, p. where this question is considered at greater length. 3. See Appendix, Monimail.

dismiss a schoolmaster was the United Presbytery of Dunfermline and Kirkcaldy. In November, 1690, it decided to get rid of the disaffected parochial schoolmaster of Kennoway. (1) A little later the Presbytery examined two more schoolmasters, and admonished them for their "sin in complying with episcopacy". But since these two humbly admitted the error of their pre-1690 ways, they escaped dismissal. (2) At least one other schoolmaster from within the bounds of the old Kirkcaldy Presbytery was in trouble with the brethren, and lost his post - the schoolmaster of Kinglassie - though whether this was due to his failure to conform is not certain. (3)

In what had been the Presbytery of Dunfermline there were further dismissals of parochial schoolmasters. In 1695 the schoolmaster of Saline, who had been accused of countenancing "irregular meetings", was deposed; ostensibly, for his "gross ignorance of the Grammar" - but it is clear that his real fault was in his doctrine and not in his letters. (4) About the same time the schoolmaster of Torryburn was cited to the Presbytery for his "miscarriages", failed to appear, and lost his post. What his miscarriages were was not entered in the Presbytery minutes; but it is probable that they were not unconnected with the new form of church government. (5)

The Presbyteries of Cupar and St. Andrews yield only two cases of schoolmasters who were deposed by the brethren between 1692 and 1702: one

MS.

1. Pres. Dunfermline & Kirkcaldy, 27/11/1690. By Feb. 1691 he had "deserted". Ibid 5/2/1691. 2. The schoolmaster of Wemyss and the newly appointed schoolmaster of Kennoway. Ibid 5/3/1691. 3. Ibid 23/5/1695. Mr. David Setton, schoolmaster of Auchterderran, was perhaps another. The heritors "offered to cause Mr David Setton to present to him (Rev. Andrew Aitken) and upon his refusal did threaten to thrust him from his office as schoolmaster in that parish". (Ibid 10/12/1691) A. McNeil Houston, "Auchterderran, a Parish History," p.270. 4. MS. Pres. Dunfermline & Kirkcaldy 11/12/1695. 5. Ibid 5/9/1695.

a burgh schoolmaster, in 1695, for reasons not stated; (1) and one a parochial schoolmaster, in 1702, for refusing to sign the Confession of Faith. (2)

It is certain that these were not the only dismissals in those years for the wrong views on religion. It was not until 1695 that the United Presbytery of Dunfermline and Kirkcaldy declared that every Kirk Session had the power to suspend or deprive every Session Clerk or Precentor when they "miscarried" without troubling the Presbytery. (3) This may have been intended to cover the office of schoolmaster too. But already in 1691 the heritors and elders of Beath (in Dunfermline Presbytery) "being met did deprive William Wilson from being precentor because of his disaffection to the present establishment". (4) That Wilson was being deprived as schoolmaster too is clear from the presence of the heritors and from the attempt to settle a new schoolmaster eight months later. (5) Another schoolmaster in the same Presbytery (Mr. Douglas of Carnock) was dismissed by the Session, gave satisfaction to the Minister, and was reponed - all without the intervention of the Presbytery. (6) It is highly probable, too, that the demission in March, 1693, of Mr. Alexander Toshack, burgh schoolmaster of Culross, was not a voluntary one, and that he had the support of some of the townspeople against the Kirk Session; although a new schoolmaster, William Drummond, was appointed in July, the Session learned in September that "John Hutson and John Blaw continues to take up the Town

1. Chalmers of Anstruther Wester. MS. Pres. St. Andrews, 22/12/1695.
2. MS. Cupar Pres. 22/12/1702. 3. MS. United Pres. Dunfermline & Kirkcaldy, 23/5/1695. 4. MS. Beath K.S. 29/6/1691. 5. Ibid 6/3/1691. 6. To whom, however, the matter was reported. MS. United Pres. Dunfermline & Kirkcaldy, 14/6/1694 & 5/7/1694.

Custom for the use of Alexander Toshack schoolmaster sometyne heer by a pretended warrant from the schoolmaster", and Toshack was ordered to deliver up the "band of mortification of feir scoir pounds to the schoolmaster". (1) A year later the Session, considering that "the school has now been a long time vacant" re-elected Mr. William Drummond schoolmaster during his good behaviour. (2) And all this happened without any reference to the Presbytery. Whether Toshack was dismissed for disaffection or not, it is possible that Sessions in other Presbyteries behaved like the Kirk Sessions of Beath and Carnock, and got rid of Episcopalian schoolmasters without informing the higher assembly; indeed, when one notes the number of vacant schools in the years between 1690 and 1695, and the large number of parishes with Kirk Session records beginning (or recommencing after a gap) in 1693 or thereabouts (3) significant, for some dismissed schoolmaster-session clerks made off with the Minute Books (4) - it becomes probable.

In the landward parishes, then, it is likely that considerable disorganisation was caused to the educational system by the Revolution; and

1. MS. Culross K.S. 14/3/1693; 25/7/1693; 5/9/1693; & 21/9/1693.
2. Ibid 13/9/1694. 3. e.g. Collessie, Creich, Cults, Flisk, Kilmany, Moonzie, all in Cupar; and Cameron, Carnbee, Dunino, Elie & Forgan in St. Andrews. It is possible, too, that there was another dismissal in the Kirkcaldy bounds which was not referred to the Presbytery. Mr. Robert Walker probably ceased to be schoolmaster of Auchterderran in 1689. See Appendix, Auchterderran. 4. e.g. "the late Clerk to the ... Session" of Markinch (he did not, however, lose his post of schoolmaster) did not give up the Session Books until written to by the Presbytery Clerk. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 26/11/1696 & 7/1/1697. And see also MS. St. Andrews Pres. 16/2/1698 - "the Session book of Kemback is in the custody of William Petrie late schoolmaster ... and that he refused to give it up without warrant from the Presbyterie". The widow of the late schoolmaster of Leuchars refused to give up books when the Session refused to pay her husband's outstanding dues. Ibid 14/2/1694. This making off with the Session book was not new. In 1678 "the late schoolmaster (of Newburn) claiming that the Session was in his debt had taken off the Session Book". Ibid 20/8/1678. Mr. Miller of East Anstruther had, it was stated in 1698, ceased to be schoolmaster "some time before" and had gone off, it was suspected, with the Kirk Session papers. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 13/7/1698.

it is possible that some of the many difficulties which the Kirk Sessions were to have with certain of the heritors in the first decade of the eighteenth century were due to the resentment aroused by the actions of the Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions of the Revolution. And the burgh schools did not escape without interference. In addition to Mr. Toshack of Culross, Mr. Chalmers of Anstruther Wester, Mr. Law of Inverkeithing (1) (but by no means certainly on religious grounds) and possibly Mr. Canaries of Pittenweem, (2) were dismissed in the years immediately after 1688. On the other hand, the burgh schoolmasters of Crail, Cupar, Dunfermline, Dysart, Kinghorn, and St. Andrews all succeeded in making their peace with the new authorities in Kirk and State, and in retaining their posts.

Having traced the destructive efforts of the Kirk, both Prelatical and Presbyterian, on the schools, we must now return to the years immediately after the Restoration and see what the "government of humane invention" and its successors did to build up and maintain the educational fabric. The Synod's first constructive move came in 1666, when, as we have seen, it ordered the brethren to put into effect the Act of 1616 for settling schools in their several parishes. (3) Nothing is heard of the effect of this for three years; but evidently by then the Synod was dissatisfied with the activities of the brethren and the heritors, for in 1669, after considering what course should be taken for ensuring that every parish in the diocese had its school, the Archbishop and Synod decided that Parliament should be

1. He was dismissed for "gross & scandalous faults" in 1693. Stephen, History, p.391. 2. Canaries (who took the Test in 1681) was elected schoolmaster of Pittenweem on 24/6/1684 & drew his salary regularly until 1689. On 27/2/1692 a new schoolmaster was elected, & on 16/11/1692 we read that "the school is very much weakened". MS. Pittenweem K.S. 24/6/1684 to -/3/1689 passim, & 16/11/1692. MS. Pittenweem B.R. 27/2/1692. 3. MS. Synod 5/10/1666.

asked to ratify the old acts for the planting of the schools. (1)

Thereafter we hear nothing more about the provision of schools; evidently it was thought that enough had been done, and in any case the Synod was much taken up with the many disaffected schoolmasters and chaplains.

The Presbyteries (to judge from the records that survive) were not much more active than the Synod. In 1661, it is true, the Presbytery of Dunfermline was busy with the provision of a school in Beath, and its observations and queries read very much like those of the most active days just after the passing of the Acts of 1633 and 1646. The Presbytery actually visited the parish to see that a school was built and the schoolmaster provided with 100 merks "conforme to the Act of Parliament". (2) After the restoration of Episcopacy the Presbytery registered the Acts of the Synod appointing a school to be settled in every parish; but if any more active steps were taken at this level, we do not hear of them; though indeed, since (as we know from the Kirk Session records) all the parishes in the bounds were provided with schools in 1664, the brethren may not have felt that anything further was required of them. They continued, of course, to take trial of new schoolmasters "in their abilities and qualifications to teach the grammar", as of old. (3) The Presbytery of St. Andrews was no more active. Although the Synod's Act for the settling of schools was registered in the Presbytery's Minute Book in December, 1665, (4) it was not until 1668 that the brethren were instructed to bring in an account of the provision made for schoolmasters in their parishes; (5) they moved much faster when it was a question of dealing with unlicensed schoolmasters. (6) Even on the Visitations, which recommenced

1. MS. Synod 21/4/1669 & 6/10/1669. 2. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 6/2/1661 & 10/7/1661. 3. Ibid 8/6/1671 (Orwell schoolmaster) & 15/11/1672 (Inverkeithing schoolmaster). 4. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 15/11/1665. 5. Ibid 15/3/1668. If the brethren brought in the required information, the Clerk did not, unfortunately, think it worth recording. 6. Ibid 15/11/1665 & 6/12/1665.

in September, 1664, after a four year break, they did not always enquire about the schoolmaster's maintenance; nor do they seem to have conducted an examination into the satisfaction he gave with the vigour which we found in the Presbyteries of 1640 to 1660. (1) But perhaps more was done by this Presbytery to keep the heritors and Town Councils up to scratch than their clerk recorded. Certainly in neighbouring Kirkcaldy on at least one occasion that Presbytery conducted a visitation, and held a meeting with the heritors "and others" "for settling of a shoole for educating children within the forsaide parish" of Ballingry. (2) This was in 1668. In 1677 the Presbytery returned; and they enquired again about the school, only to learn that nothing had been done. (3) But if in this case the brethren of the Presbytery were unsuccessful in persuading the heritors to do what the law required of them, they did at least make an effort; and it is most probable that they did as much in the other parishes within their bounds.

But whether the Presbyteries after 1660 acted with the vigour of their predecessors or not, the local agents (Town Councils and Kirk Sessions) did in many cases continue to press forward with the provision of schools and schoolmasters. In spite of the economic difficulties which, if anything, worsened towards the end of our period, the larger burgh schools were, on the whole, more firmly established, more consistently successful, than in the 30 years before the Restoration. Cupar, Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, and St. Andrews were all, as we have seen, provided with school buildings and their full quota of schoolmasters and schooldoctors in 1660. Let us

1. Between 7/9/1664 & 24/5/1666 the Presbytery of St. Andrews made six visitations. At Kemback (7/9/1664) & Carnbee (21/9/1664) they asked about the master's maintenance; they knew about the mortification for the school of Newburn (visited on 14/3/1666). But no questions on salaries, if the clerk is to be trusted, were asked in Forgan, Anstruther Wester & Ferry.
2. Jamie, "Old Church Life in Ballingry" p.68 (quoting Ballingry K.S.)
3. Ibid p.70.

trace, in some detail, the efforts of the magistrates of these burghs, prompted and sustained by the Kirks, to maintain their schools, all of which emerged from this era under the control of the Town Councils.

Of these four, Cupar Grammar School was not the least successful in overcoming the difficulties of the time. To obtain and keep satisfactory teachers was one of the first tasks of the burghs, and this the Magistrates of Cupar succeeded in doing fairly well. Of schoolmasters, between 1661 and 1706 there were only two: Mr. Robert Kinloch, who taught from 1661 to 1667, and Mr. John Chalmers, who taught from 1670 to 1707. (1) In the interval between Kinloch's demission and Chalmers' appointment, the place was filled by John Williamsone, the schooldoctor. He had been appointed schoolmaster for one year in 1660; but his discipline was unsatisfactory, (2) and at the end of his trial period he had reverted to the lowlier position. When in 1667 he became acting schoolmaster once more, it is significant that at first he received only what he had been paid as schooldoctor (110 merks); and for this he performed the duties of schoolmaster and precentor. (3) Indeed for a time he was also forced to act as his own schooldoctor without any augmentation; (4) then (in August 1668) he was given 40 merks "by and attour what he recet formerly". (5) The burgh must have been in a poor financial way just previous to this, and it is plain that numbers at the school had fallen off, if one man could do all the work. But by September, 1668, the situation was improving; the Council in that month appointed Mr. Alex Skairs (or Ker) as schooldoctor, at 110 merks and 26 housemeal yearly: in addition "everie bairne in the toune ho is able sauld give him fourtie pennies in the quarter by ther quarter payments". (6)

1. See Appendix. 2. Lamont, p.159. 3. MS. Cupar B.R. 5/2/1662 & 26/1/1670.
4. Ibid 8/10/1667. 5. Ibid 1/8/1668. 6. Ibid 21/9/1668.

For the remainder of the period Cupar school was provided with a separate schooldoctor. Skairs remained for a year, as did his successor; (1) then the easy going Williamsone, who had lost his post of acting schoolmaster on the appointment of Mr. John Chalmers in 1670, became schooldoctor once more, a post he held until 1706. (2)

During the period on at least two occasions the Magistrates passed acts to protect and sustain the burgh school. During Kinloch's reign at his request the Minister and Kirk Session petitioned the Town Council to support the school, and in response the Council confirmed all former acts ordaining parents to put their children over eight years of age to the grammar school, under penalty of £5 per quarter. (3) Ten years later, when schoolmaster and doctor complained that there were "many young boyes in town not at school, in spite of many Acts of the Council" though it was evidently a good school, since "many at a great distance send their children to be educat" in Cupar, the Council promised to use all their endeavours to cause parents to put their children to the school. (4)

In addition to this kind of support, the magistrates were called upon to give more material comfort. Cupar had a school building, but the school building periodically required repair. In that same petition pleading for better attendance, Messrs. Chalmers and Williamsone pointed out that "the cold Winter (was) now at Hand and the schoolhouse so defective and insufficient ... that the tender young ones comited to their charge (could not)

1. Skairs demitted by 27/11/1669 (Cupar B.R. sub anno). Sibbald his successor was appointed on 18/12/1669, & Williamsone on 30/12/1670. Sibbald may have gone some months before December but there is nothing in the records to indicate this. 2. Ibid 18/12/1670 - "he declaires he was satisfied with whatever they did". See also Appendix. 3. Ibid 5/2/1667. 4. Ibid 21/11/1677.

therby be sheltered from tempestuous Winds rains and peirceing cold" and humbly requested that the school should be mended "with thak and glass windows". To this the Town Council agreed. (1)

This evidence that the Town could afford to spend a little on the school building is pleasant reading after those earlier indications of financial stringency which we have noted. But the Town Treasury can never have been very full throughout this period. The salary of the schoolmaster had been £200 in 1653; in 1670 Chalmers was given £160 and £20 house-mail; and though at some time between 1670 and 1687 his (and the doctor's) salary was augmented, a cut was imposed in the latter year. (2) Later, the Town Treasurer was ordered to "remove the suspension of that payment of Mr Johne Chalmers and Mr Johne Williamsone sellaris and payment therof to be as formerly" - but only "as the toune can get mony for that end". (3) And by 1693 the schoolmaster "in great straits" petitioned the magistrates to do something for him; his salary was two years in arrears, but he would be content if they would give him half of what he was owed. The Council recognised the justice of his case and ordered the Treasurer to pay him what he asked, and to borrow, if necessary, to do so. (4)

But if this sharp crisis caused the schoolmaster's salary to be two years in arrears, and if, as has been indicated, the Town was never in easy circumstances between 1660 and 1690, it is also true that at no other time in this period were the school salaries stopped. How the schoolmasters in the other burghs fared will be considered later; but at this

1. Cupar B.R. 21/11/1677 - an entry which may be regarded as evidence of the appallingly uncomfortable conditions under which school was conducted. But that complaint should be raised, and that the T.C. should act so promptly, is evidence rather of a determination to insist on better standards. This matter is discussed more fully below. 2. Ibid 21/3/1687. 3. Ibid 16/3/1689. 4. Ibid 13/11/1693.

point it is natural to ask how the Cupar schoolmaster, with his salary of £160 and his share of the school fees (12s per quarter) (1) compared financially with his fellows both within and without the county. We need not examine salaries elsewhere too closely to do this. Where our schoolmasters came from, and where they went, tells us a good deal. That Williamsons, poor man, endured patiently 50 years of ups and downs does not, it is true, enlighten us - he was evidently not the sort to look for improvement elsewhere, and as schooldoctor he had the benefit of Moreis's mortification. (2) But Kinloch had been schoolmaster of Falkland, (3) and had come to Cupar to better himself, we may be sure. He left Cupar for Dundee Grammar School, which, again it is safe to assume, was financially advantageous to him. (4) The next full schoolmaster had been schoolmaster in Abernethy - another indication of the relative value of these posts. (5) Then there is the career of Mr. Alex Skairs:- doctor in Cupar, then schoolmaster in Crail, and finally schoolmaster in Kirkcaldy. (6) His moves cannot have been dictated by the size of the salaries in these three positions (almost £80 in Cupar, £100 in Crail, and £80 in Kirkcaldy) but rather by the total emoluments, which included his share of school fees and church casualties. Of course there is always the possibility that some or all of the moves mentioned were occasioned by personal circumstances not connected with financial reward - but if we dismiss this as an unimportant factor, then it seems that our schools might be graded roughly in the order Falkland, Crail, Cupar, Kirkcaldy - an order of increasing pecuniary attractiveness.

^{MS.}
1. Cupar B.R. 13/11/1661 & 18/12/1670. 2. Ibid 21/9/1668. 3. MS. Falkland K.S. (in P.R.) 4/12/1661. 4. MS. Cupar B.R. 5/2/1667. 5. Ibid 18/12/1670. 6. Appendix, Cupar, Crail, & Kirkcaldy.

Skair's moves, like those of Kinloch and Chalmers, illustrate two features which, if rather more obvious in Cupar, were becoming more marked generally throughout the county:- schoolmasters were seeking and finding posts further afield, and were tending not to desert the desk for the pulpit. (1) Did this begin to create a feeling of professional solidarity, perhaps for the first time? Certainly before the next century was fifty years old the schoolmasters of Fife were speaking with one voice to defend their interests. And certainly the links forged between Cupar, Crail, Kirkcaldy (and as we shall see, by other appointments, between Burntisland, Kirkcaldy, Crail, and St. Monance) as schoolmasters moved from school to school, would ensure that the activities of Presbytery and Kirk Session to equalise conditions were reinforced. For this reason, generalisation from a few instances is safer in this period than in any before.

That the Cupar appointments included one for one year only, (2) and another "for three years, and so for three and three if the Magistrates agree", (3) and that schoolmasters continued to be formally admitted by the handing over of tawse and keys (4) (without, however, benefit of a deputation from the Presbytery) need only be mentioned in passing. More interesting is the light thrown on the granting of vacations, and the evidence which one reference affords that boarders attended the Cupar School. On the 26th August, 1678, a petition was presented "be the schoolers of the gramer shool desyreing they might hav the vacanc for a certain spac til recreat themselves and go hom and sie ther parents and friends which was grantit til the twenty thrid of September nixt to come". (5)

1. That schooldoctors (in Kirkcaldy at least) continued their old habits the Kirkcaldy appointments bear witness. See below p. 2. MS. Cupar B.R. 4/12/1660 & 13/11/1661. 3. Ibid 30/12/1670. 4. Ibid 5/2/1662 & 30/12/1670. 5. Ibid 26/8/1678.

The Cupar burgh school yields us no example of a school visitation by Town Council and Kirk Session in the 30 years under consideration, and no example of rules for the government of school and schoolmasters. For these we have to go to Kirkcaldy, but, for the reasons given, we can take it that what we find in this burgh, we should find with but minor variations elsewhere. In 1665 the two ministers of Kirkcaldy, the Provost and the two bailies, with others, visited the Grammar School and "the first, second, and third classes ... were examined according to their literatur and upon the Cateches. Thereafter the scholars being all removed Mr John Malcolm was interrogate upon the questions followinge First whether or not he knew anything scandalous in John Buchan, Doctor, gif he was sober and discriet in his carriage; to all which he answered that he could not reprove him that he attended when he had healthe, but was sometyme visited with sickness, and that then he did not attend, but withall thought that he might be admonished to be more calm to the schoolers and not so outragious in his speitches to them. Next ... Mr John Malcolm being removed the said John Buchan was inquyrit gif he knew anything scandalous in the said Mr John Schoolmaster, and whereof he would have him admonished, declaird he knew nothing. Thair after the schoolmaster and doctor were jointly enquired anent the dyeitts of their meitting, answered convened at 7 hours in the morning and dissolved at 9. They met at 10 and dissolved at 12 hours, and thairfrom 2 till 6 at night." Thereafter the visitors drew up these rules, which the schoolmaster was ordered to observe:-

"First that they keep the dyeitts of meeting and dissolving punctually, especially upon the Sabbath day, and that they make an attempt of the scholars there hearing the sermons, and that they use prayer and singing of psalms frequently, and the catechost, and cause them repeat them in the Kirk upon

Sabbath days, and that they cause reid the cattologue of the names orderly, that they tak notice who prophanes the Sabbath in the streets, fields and sands. That they give the play to the schoolers upon Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, and that they attend the school when they are at the play. That they be discreet in their discipline, even to the mainest schooler; that they use not (despiteful ?) speitches and that they be careful to cause the schoolers to speak Latin; that they punish cursers and swears; and teatche the schoolers to be courtiouse towards all. The visitation ... appoyntes the school to be visited 4 times in the yeire heirafter". (1)

The conduct of the visitation, so similar to what is to be found before 1660 and after 1700, and these rules, to be the core of the much amplified regulations established by Magistrates and Kirk Session 40 years later, indicate clearly how the approach of Kirk and Magistrates under Episcopacy to the aims and conduct of education resembles that of their Presbyterian predecessors and successors. And this essential continuity in matters educational is exemplified by the careers of two of the three schoolmasters who taught in the Kirkcaldy Grammar School between 1660 and 1690. Mr. John Malcolme had been tried and approved by an Episcopal Presbytery in 1630, had seen the Covenant signed and the bishops disappear, and survived to teach for 14 years after the Restoration. He was followed by that Mr. Skairs (from Cupar, via Crail) who in his turn gave way to Mr. William Jackson, student of divinity, and survivor of another Revolution, who entered in 1680, after two years as schooldoctor, and held the place until he died in 1707. (2) It is plain we need not look for many dramatic changes in the

1. MS. Kirkcaldy K.S. 6/9/1665 (quoted, incorrectly, by Campbell, Church & Parish of Kirkcaldy, p.83. 2. See Appendix, Kirkcaldy.

method of conducting the school during the long period spanned by these appointments.

Compared with the schoolmasters (all three of whom probably, and one of whom certainly, had "ad vitam" appointments (1) - in itself a cause of stability) the doctors were mere birds of passage. Between 1660 and 1685 there were at least six of them; and of these, one remained for only one year, and another for only three years. (2) This rapid succession, in marked contrast with the position in Cupar, was due to the fact that the post of doctor was regarded by an ambitious man as a stepping stone to better things. For though the appointments were generally "at pleasure", (3) no doctor was dismissed by the Magistrates. Indeed, the Kirkcaldy doctor's position was, relatively speaking, a good one. The fees were high, so that his income from this source, except in the period when the school was "in decay" because of the incapacity of Malcolm, would be high too. Moreover, he was provided with a house (or housemail); (4) and he was precentor, (5) with the income from a small mortification to supplement his fee and casualties from that post. (6) But of the six doctors known to us, at least two became schoolmasters (one in Burntisland and one in Kirkcaldy

1. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 23/11/1674 (for Skairs). There is no mention of term in the minute on Jackson's appointment (Ibid 8/11/1680): had it been "at pleasure" this would almost certainly have been mentioned. Malcolm's long service and the efforts to get him to demit (B.R. 28/8/1673) point to his appointment being ad vitam too. 2. See Appendix, Kirkcaldy doctors. 3. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 5/2/1666, 22/9/1673 & 15/11/1680. 4. Ibid 5/2/1666. 5. Ibid 5/2/1666. 6. The annual rent of 100 merks - Campbell, "Church & Parish of Kirkcaldy", p.94, quoting K.S. record of Visitation.

itself), and one, a student of divinity, probably found a church. (1) Yet, whether the schooldoctors were in office for a short or a long period, the magistrates saw to it that wherever possible there was an appointee ready to take over immediately his predecessor demitted.

This is only one indication of the care with which the magistrates watched over their school. Another is given by their obvious determination to fill any vacancies with the most suitable candidates. For example, when at last Malcolm yielded to the persuasion of the Magistrates and offered to demit, the Provost and one of the bailies were instructed to make search for a qualified person "and after severall meetings with Mr Alex Skairs be the advyse of some old magistrates ... they aggrieved and settled with him". (2) Later, when Jackson was reported to be about to leave, the Council "befor wreatting to any, appoynts the persones following to mak tryall with the schoollmasters after mentioned ... to witt Alexander Boswall to deale with the schoollmaster of Falkland, Henry Oswald with the Schoollmaster of Burntisland, John Hutchene with Mr Alexander Young to be doctour and Mr James Williamsone Minister to wreatt to the schoollmaster of St. Andrews". (3) This active interest in their school,

1. Appendix, Kirkcaldy Doctors. Students of divinity were none too popular as teachers with the burgh authorities at this time, as we saw earlier. When in 1673 they considered "the great prejudice the youth at the schole (had) sustained bot and through Mr William Meiklejohn doctor since he entered to his studies of the ministrie", they determined, to prevent the like, that no schoolmaster or doctor should be admitted except on the understanding that whenever they entered "the office of preaching" (i.e. when they had been licensed to preach by the Presbytery) "that ipso facto ther presentation be voyd and null". Kirkcaldy B.R. 30/6/1673. This stern resolution was not adhered to: Jackson was in 1683 contemplating a move to a kirk, and must therefore have entered the office of preaching, but he was not dismissed. Ibid 19/2/1683. A schoolmaster might take his "trials" for the ministry before the Presbytery, & be employed by various parishes to take occasional services, and yet not receive a call - e.g. Mr I. Hunter of Crail, who preached in Kingsbarns on 12/12/1675 and Mr Patrick Seaton, Schoolmaster of St. Andrews, who preached in Kingsbarns a month later. MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 12/12/1675 & 9/1/1676. 2. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 23/11/1674. 3. Ibid 19/2/1683.

which manifested itself in these ways, and by the usual act forbidding any adventure schoolmasters in the town to teach male children over 7 years of age (1) - an interest which ensured that the school was never without schoolmaster and doctor - no doubt was responsible for the considerable increase in the salary paid to the masters at this time. In 1666 the salary was £18 per annum, in 1674 it was £80, and in 1676 it was raised to £120 (2) - in spite of the very heavy blows which the town had taken during the Civil Wars, and from which it hardly recovered until after 1707. (3) Nevertheless even the care of the magistrates could not ensure that the school was consistently successful, and in 1674 it was reported that because of Malcolm's great age and infirmity, it daily decayed; (4) but with the entry of Skairs we hear no more of this; and no doubt it was partly to reward him for bringing about an improvement that he had his salary augmented.

Skairs' contract with the magistrates is the most interesting of all that have come to us from this period. It shows that from this date arithmetic was to be taught, and for the same fee as was charged for Latin - "the first twa pairt of threttie shillings Scotts quarterlie" (the other third going of course to the doctor). Unfortunately we have no way of telling how many of the children took what may (in Kirkcaldy) have been a newfangled subject. (5) The fee for "ilk child or schooler that he shall teache or learn Inglishe Reit" was 24s (and the schoolmaster's share two-thirds); and since all private schools were forbidden to keep any male

1. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 23/11/1674 & 10/5/1675. 2. Ibid 5/2/1666; 23/11/1674; 20/3/1676. How long the £120 was paid is not known. By 1707 it had dropped to £100. 3. 100 vessels in 1644, 14 in 1692. See Report of the Commissioners, Appendix to "Report on the Royal Burghs". 4. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 2/11/1674. 5. The Town Clerk wrote it "arthminstrik".

children over seven years of age, the teaching of English was, it can be assumed, of some importance to the Grammar School. His dwelling, we learn, was to be (after the school doctor had quit them) the two chambers above the school. And finally there is set out the unparalleled conditions (unparalleled in Fife at least) for his enjoyment of the fruits of precentorship. He was to have "the first and equall halfe off all benefites or casualties that may arrayse or accrew to the presenter of the Kirk or the clerk to the sessions thereof (altho he shall not officiat therein nor ather of them quilk he is na wayes obleidged to doe, except of his owen frie motive will)". (1)

When we turn from this successful school - for such we must account it, though we do not know how many pupils it handled, and though the school building was so decayed that by 1724 it had to be demolished and another erected - holding its masters, paying their salaries promptly, and augmenting them generously, to the ancient foundation in St. Andrews, we seem at first to breathe a chiller air. For here, outlined in the scanty records, is a tale of salaries far too often in arrears. Already by 1660 the Town Council was in debt to Mr. Kilgour, their schoolmaster, (2) and to his fellow employee of the burgh, the Reader and Precentor (who was no doubt the Master of the Sang School also). (3) This need not surprise us, when we remember the unfortunate state of the town's finances at the time. But twenty years later we find the Council still unable to make prompt payments;

1. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 23/11/1674. 2. MS. St.Andrews B.R. 20/1/1660.
3. That is, if we are correct in identifying the Patrick Cairns whose salary was in arrears in 10/1/1660 (MS. St.Andrews B.R.) with the Patrick Cairns "Reader and Precentor in the Parish Church of St. Andrews" whose will was proved on 15/11/1687. (Index of Testaments, Com. St.Andrews, p.64)

their latest schoolmaster, Mr. Hunter, complained of the "ill payment made of his stipend by the treasurer from year to year, particularly by the relict of William Greig", who owed him £52. (1) Nevertheless, the Council did not take the easy way of reducing the schoolmaster's salary: in 1691 it was still, as it had been 50 years before, £166.13s.4d, (2) the second highest in Fife. And if the masters had to wait, the Council and Magistrates did try to ensure that they were paid; not, like the Cupar authorities, by borrowing, but by such methods as assigning part of the small customs, (3) or allocating the "tack duty of the customes of the citie" (4) to pay off the arrears of salary.

These efforts by the Council to honour their obligations would seem to have had their reward; for never, as far as is known, was the school without a schoolmaster. Four masters held the office between 1660 and 1690. The first of them, a shadowy figure, and a survival from the Presbyterian age, died in harness. (5) The next was the only student of divinity among the four; he left the school in 1676 to become a minister in the north. (6) His successor, Mr. James Hunter, left St. Andrews in 1684 to become master of the highly successful and well established Haddington Grammar School. (7) If, as seems highly probable, he was the Mr. James Hunter who was schoolmaster of St. Monance and then (for one year only) schoolmaster of Crail (8) - chosen by the St. Andrews Magistrates, possibly, on the recommendation of the Archbishop himself (9) - his career permits us to rank his schools in the order of (financial) importance: St. Monance (parish), Crail, St. Andrews, and Haddington. After Hunter came Mr. Patrick Lindsay, who had been burgh

1. MS. St. Andrews B.R. 23/12/1680. 2. MS. Common Good & Appendix, "Report on the Royal Burghs". 3. To their reader in 1661 - MS. St. Andrews B.R. 11/6/1661. 4. Ibid 23/12/1680. 5. See Appendix, St. Andrews. 6. Mr. Patrick Seaton. MS. St. Andrews B.R. 14/4/1676. 7. Ibid 25/5/1684. 8. MS. Crail K.S. 1/2/1676 & 13/5/1676. 9. In April 1676 the Town Council of St. Andrews recommended that the Magistrates should consult the Archbishop on the choice of a new schoolmaster. MS. St. Andrews B.R. 14/4/1676.

schoolmaster of Crail and then of Pittenweem. (1) He, the last of the four, stayed longest: appointed in 1684, he retired with a pension in 1724. (2)

It is not possible to state how many school doctors served in St. Andrews between 1660 and 1690; indeed we have no direct evidence that there were any, though it is hardly possible that the important St. Andrews Burgh School had no doctor. There were schooldoctors before 1660, and there were schooldoctors after 1690; we can take it there were schooldoctors between.

The Kirk Session of St. Andrews, like the Kirk Sessions in many other burghs, concerned themselves with those parish children who lived too far from the town to travel easily to the school (and, of course, whose parents were too poor to board them within easy reach of it). Those adventure schoolmasters and schoolmistresses who wished to set up in the outlying parts had to obtain the Session's permission to do so; but once that was granted they would receive not only toleration but active encouragement. The fees of poor scholars at their schools were paid; more than that, they might be remembered at the "distribution from the box"; like Judith Craig, who, having petitioned to be "admitted to teach the children at Kinchapell" (Kincaple) in November, 1659, and having been given 6s per quarter for "poore ones" at her school at least once, was in 1661 granted £3 "to encourage her to remane at Kinchapell for teaching a school ther". (3) There were schools in other quarters of the parish too - in Strathkinness, for example - and there were payments for poor scholars, no doubt some of them at the burgh school, throughout the period. (4)

1. MS. Pittenweem B.R. 2/5/1677. His salary in Pittenweem was 200 merks.
2. See Appendix, St. Andrews. 3. MS. St. Andrews K.S. (in P.R.) 10/11/1659, 25/7/1661, and 15/8/1661. 4. Ibid 11/4/1661 to 1680 passim.

Thus partial support was given to a considerable number of teachers in and around the town; so that in 1684 the Privy Council could talk of "all the schoolmasters in the said burgh". (1)

The last burgh school which we shall examine in detail is Dunfermline's; a school in some important respects, in this as in the previous period, unlike any of those we have considered. The 50 year old endowment of the master's salary reduced the Town Council's control over the school by removing from them the power to appoint the schoolmaster. (2) Moreover, the Kirk Session continued to pay part, if not all, of the school-doctor's salary, and continued to exercise their right to examine each successive nominee for the doctorship before he was admitted to the school. (3) After 1673, the Session had even greater and more direct control over this post; by their mortification of 1,000 merks to endow the doctorship, they gained an equal say with the Magistrates in the appointment of the school-doctor. (4) As a result of these arrangements, although on occasion the provost might be sent to Edinburgh (as he was in 1676) "to the Earle of Tweeddale ... to procure a presentation to" some man the Town Council favoured, and return successful, (5) in no Fife burgh had the Magistrates so little control over the appointment of their teachers.

1. R.P.C., Third Series, Vol.VI, p.91. 2. Queen Anne's Mortification. See above, p.69. 3. Dunfermline Extracts 30/4/1661. 4. Ibid 7/7/1673 & MS. Dunfermline B.R. 21/7/1673. At the same time the Kirk Session "mortified to (the) schoolmasters the ordinarie annual rent of 200 merks" but this did not give them any greater control over that post. Before the mortification the schoolmaster seems to have had the right to refuse a doctor proposed by the Town Council. In 1672, when the Council admitted Mr. Peter Kennedy, they "desyred the provost to deal with (the schoolmaster) to receive him hartelie to the scoole"; and three months later the schoolmaster attended the Council and was "satisfied to accept Petter Kennedy to be his doctor". MS. Dunfermline B.R. 29/5/1672 & 17/8/1672. 5. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 12/2/1676 & 15/4/1676.

The need to procure a presentation from a distant patron, who had other, and no doubt more important, matters to attend to, may well have been the reason for a number of long intervals when there was no schoolmaster. In February 1668 the school was declared vacant but it was not until 14th December, 1668, that the new master was admitted; in 1676 there was no schoolmaster for nearly three months; and in 1679-80 none for six months. (1) Did the children receive a holiday at such times, or did the doctors carry on as best they could? We cannot tell.

As this rather sorry record indicates, there were several holders of the senior post in the period, in spite of the advantages of an endowed salary. (2) Between 1668 and 1682 there were four schoolmasters, as compared with four for the whole period from 1610 to 1664. (3) But then, as we know, the town was in sore straits just after the Restoration - many houses on the High Street were ruinous and the town debt was so great that the Common Good was "scarcely sufficient to pay the interest thereon". (4) Attendance at the school was probably low and the income from fees poor, and so the post of schoolmaster was less attractive. Of the masters who taught in these hard years, one, Mr. Kinnaird, might have remained longer had he not become embroiled with the Presbytery for his riotous behaviour; he deserted the school. (5) Another, Mr. William Hay, who stayed for only two years, became schoolmaster of South Leith, and later Minister of West Linton (he was the only student of divinity to hold the Dunfermline post in this half century). But after his departure the magistrates engaged a

1. See Appendix, Dunfermline Schoolmasters. 2. In 1691 as in 1610 the salary was £100, but it may be that the Council cut it to £60 or £80 in 1665, when they decided that "conform to the Act of Parliament they ought onlie pay" six per cent on the £1,000 mortified to the Sang School. Shearer, D.B.R. 19/8/1665. 3. See Appendix. 4. Shearer, D.B.R. 14/4/1666. 5. MS. Synod 6/10/1675 & D.B.R. 12/2/1676.

schoolmaster who remained with them until his death 18 years later. Thus a half century which opened with one veteran schoolmaster in office, closed with another. (1)

At first doctor followed doctor almost as rapidly as schoolmaster had followed schoolmaster. Between 1660 and 1672 there were three appointments - though that indeed is a slow rate of turnover compared with what we found in the decade after 1640. (2) But after 1672 there was a change; in that year Mr. Peter Kennedy was admitted to the post he was not to relinquish until 1704. Was it lack of ambition, or insufficient talent to recommend him to other employers, which kept him in this minor office? Perhaps - but that the longer period of service should come immediately after the establishment of a regular salary (60 or 80 merks) is significant.

So much for the burgh school. What of the other schools in the parish? There were only two holders of the post of Master of the Sang School in this period: Mr. Robert Anderson, who had been appointed in 1631 and died in 1686 or 1687; (3) and Mr. John Christie, who died in 1716. (4) It is almost certain, from the terms of the appointment of Mr. Christie's successor that arithmetic (and it is to be assumed reading and writing too) was taught in the Sang School throughout Christie's incumbency. His main subject, of course, was Music; and from a petition he presented to the Town Council in 1695, we learn that there were adventure teachers of music too, and that their competition was highly unwelcome to the Sang Schoolmaster. David Wilson, he complained "had incroached upon

1. The Sang School had only two masters in the period from 1640 to 1711. See Appendix, Dunfermline Schoolmasters & Sang Schoolmasters.
2. See Appendix, Dunfermline Doctors. 3. Extracts 17/4/1687.
4. More accurately between Martinmas 1715 and Whit 1716 - MS. Dunfermline B.R. 22/2/1717.

his privilege and did teach musick to several persons whereby he was wrongd". The Town Council accepted his petition, and discharged "David Wilson or any person whatsoever to usurp the office of Music Master". (1)

There were also several adventure schools in the parish; and while the size of the parish must have been a factor, it is possible that the Council's lack of control over the appointment of the Burgh schoolmaster made them more tolerant of the existence of these competitors than they would otherwise have been. True, on various occasions, the Magistrates and Council passed the usual act protecting the official school (2) and forbidding "all teaching of boys in the burgh except in the Grammar Scool"; but in 1668 they expressly excepted from this prohibition "such other (schoolmasters) as shall get special warrand to keep the said scools". (3) And these officially tolerated adventure schools (and others which were not licensed) did exist, to the annoyance of the burgh schoolmaster. (4) Moreover, they received the sanction of the Kirk Session, for although none of the money left in the Session's hands for the support of poor scholars was given to any private schoolmaster in the town, a contribution was made from the box. That portion of the "mortified money" which was spent in the burgh went to the Grammar School: in 1686 "Mr Patrick Dykes, schoolmaster, received from the Session 20 merks for the teaching of the poor within the burgh, and Mr Peter Kenidie doctor ... 10 merks". (5)

Outwith the burgh, but within the parish of Dunfermline, the Kirk Session lent its support to those who were prepared to set up schools for children living far from the Burgh School. In 1679, for

1. MS. Dunfermline B.R. (Scroll Minutes) 18/5/1695. 2. e.g. in 1665 (Shearer, D.B.R., p.275); in 1668 (Ibid p.291); and (presumably) at the entry of Mr. Dykes (Extracts, 23/12/1686). 3. Shearer, D.B.R. p.291. 4. Dunfermline Extracts 23/12/1686. The Music Master, a little later, also complained of competition from 'adventurers'. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 18/5/1695. 5. Ibid 23/12/1686.

example, "the session considering the gelets eister and that quarter of the paroch quhairin it lyes, is so far remot from the town that the children ther cannot come to be educated at the publick school - And patrick mudie having compeird this day before them and desired libertie to set up a school at the said gelllets ... the session finding him qualified ... license him to hold a school and teach children in that quarter". (1) Mudie seems to have been reasonably successful - he was still teaching and being paid by the Session for instructing poor scholars seven years later. (2) Other teachers in the landward parts of the parish who were helped by being placed, as it were, on the session's list of approved teachers of poor scholars, included a master at Pitfirren; (3) another at Dunduff (in the sixth quarter of Dunfermline) (4), and at least one schoolmistress. (5)

Needless to say, there was no question of these licensed teachers opening their schools, attracting, in whatever way appealed to them, the children of the poor, and then presenting the Kirk Session with the bill for fees. The provision of free education was put on a much more business-like footing. First the Session prepared a roll of those poor children whose fees, the Session considered, ought to be paid "out of the box". This roll was revised from time to time, new names were added, and the names of those "that the parents was able enough to pay ther quarter payments" were removed. (6) Then it was necessary to increase the Session's revenue and "strengthen the box", so collectors were appointed to gather contributions throughout the parish. In addition to the money so acquired - and on one occasion the collectors brought in

1. Dunfermline Extracts, 13/7/1679. Gelllets Easter was one of the six quarters of Dunfermline parish. 2. Dunfermline Extracts, 23/12/1686. 3. Ibid. 4. Ibid. 5. Ibid 20/5/1683. 6. Ibid 19/12/1686. See also Ibid 1/5/1671, 26/6/1672 & 23/12/1686.

£18 (1) - there was, after 1676, the interest on 500 merks which a Mr. Drysdale had bequeathed for the benefit of poor scholars. (2)

Periodically the teachers in the parish were summoned to attend the Session, bringing with them their lists of poor scholars. These lists were compared with the Session's roll and payment was made. The sums disbursed ranged from "£18 or therby" on one occasion in 1671 (3) - at the rate of 6s.8d per quarter for each poor scholar - to £42.18s paid out on one day in 1686. (4)

Dunfermline was not the only burgh where the Kirk Session maintained poor scholars at the burgh school, nor was it the only one where there was a large measure of support for adventure schoolmasters. In Crail, for example, (but not until after the Revolution) "the Minister motioned to the Session that they would take some way for schooling the poor children as lasses and such as could not come to the Grammar School", and was asked "to provide on for that effect". He "pitched upon Isobell Carmichael" and "desired the elders to tak notice of any poor children in their several quarters and cause put them to school". (5) The following year another schoolmistress was paid by the Session for teaching 13 poor children for half a year at 3s.4d a quarter. (6) And throughout the Episcopalian period, and after, the Crail Session paid for the teaching of poor scholars in the Grammar School. They gave the burgh schoolmaster £10 per annum, and for this he had presumably to teach as many poor scholars

1. Dunfermline Extracts 14/3/1671. 2. Ibid 8/8/1676. 3. Ibid 1/5/1671. The £18 was apparently for one quarter. 4. This included 30 merks to the teachers of the Grammar School. Ibid 23/12/1686. Cf. with the collection in Dunfermline the similar arrangement in Culross before 1660 - "20th December 1653 - collection to be everie quarter of the year for poore schollers" - K.S. quoted D.Beveridge, Culross & Tulliallan. (Blackwood, 1885) p. 5. MS. Crail K.S. (in P.R.) 17/12/1691 & 31/12/1691. 6. Ibid 13/10/1692.

as the Kirk Session sent him,⁽¹⁾ and after 1692, if not before, his assistant was paid "for the poor 20s quarterlie". (2) Other burghs used the Dunfermline method, and paid the master so much per pupil. (3)

The Kirk Session, too, even in the burghs, was responsible for providing books. New Testaments and Psalm books, which had been provided before 1660, (4) continued to be supplied to those who needed them. (5) These were of course the main (if not the only) "Readers" for the English class. Latin Grammars were also supplied - it cost the Falkland Kirk Session 14s to provide one for a poor student at the Falkland Burgh School in 1689. (6) And in addition to books, the session would provide other necessities - Crail K.S. in 1681 spent 16s on "a paire of shoes to a poor boy at the schoole". (7)

The poor scholars, one way and another, were a considerable drain on the Kirk's funds. But there were other pupils (in Dunfermline at least) who contributed to the Box. In 1656, it will be remembered, Mr. Thomas Walker, the Dunfermline schoolmaster, had complained that the 'burdens of the land' had reduced the number of gentlemen's sons from outwith the burgh who were sent to be educated "in brugh at publict schooles". (8) Thirty years later, however, there were in attendance at the Grammar School pupils of even higher rank than gentlemen's sons. In April 1685 the moderator (of the Kirk Session) gave into the Session

1. MS. Crail K.S. 6/9/1670; 28/9/1675; 15/5/1683; 20/1/1685; 2/6/1689 etc.
2. MS. Crail K.S. (in P.R.) 9/6/1692 to 17/9/1699 passim. 3. e.g. It(em) to the M(aster) & D(ector) of the School for sixe poore boyes for a q(uar)ter preceeding the 4th inst £2.16s. MS. Falkland K.S. (in P.R.) 12/3/1693. And so, presumably, Culross. This was the method of payment in 1657 (MS. Culross K.S. 19/5/1657) & in 1708 (Ibid 19/10/1708). 4. e.g. in ~~Dunfermline~~ in 1647 - Dunfermline Extracts 21/9/1647. 5. e.g. in Inverkeithing in 1694 - Stephen, History, p.455. A New Testament cost 9s Scots, a Bible 28s Scots in this year. 6. MS. Falkland K.S. (in P.R.) 24/3/1689. 7. MS. Crail K.S. 11/10/1681. 8. Dunfermline Extracts, 11/3/1656.

"seven 14s pieces of charitie given be my Lord Drumond to the poore, all put into the box"; and in September he handed over a further "8 lib 8s given in charitie to the poore be my Lord Drumond and the rest of the nobles who are schollers". (1)

With the exception of Burntisland school, which has a record as full and interesting as any we have considered, and Culross, which after the imprisonment of Mr. Coupar in 1666 was served almost continuously by five or six schoolmasters from then until 1695, and gave one schoolmaster to Stirling Grammar School, (2) we cannot trace the story of the other burgh schools in any detail; but enough remains of their lost records to show that, in broad outline, they followed the same course as those we have discussed. There were thirteen which had burgh schoolmasters (i.e. schoolmasters paid in whole or in part from the Common Good) before or just after 1660. These were: Cupar, Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, St. Andrews, Anstruther Wester, (3) Anstruther Easter, Burntisland, Crail, Culross, (4) Dysart, Falkland, Inverkeithing and Kinghorn. Concerning the first five, it is unnecessary to say anything further; of the remaining eight, only Anstruther Easter and Falkland (5) did not have a burgh school in 1691; and it is highly probable that each of the other six was provided with a burgh schoolmaster throughout the 30 years before that. (6) Moreover, some of these burghs had schooldoctors, for some or all of the time: Burntisland, Crail, Culross, and Falkland among them. And Anstruther Easter and Falkland did not cease to have a school; they merely joined those burghs like Auchtermuchty and Kilrenny where heritors or Kirk Session paid the schoolmaster; and

1. Dunfermline Extracts, 19/4/1685 & 13/9/1685. 2. See Appendix, Culross, for details. We know there was a schoolmaster in 1677 (R.P.C., 3rd series, Vol.V, p.181) but whether he was Mr. George Reid, who was schoolmaster in 1683, is not certain. (MS. Culross K.S. 13/5/1682) 3. In 1663 & 1664 - MS. Common Good, Anstruther Wester. 4. In 1667 - Ibid, Culross. 5. In 1649 the Common Good was charged with 50 merks per annum for a Doctor; in 1662 the Session "consentit" that Mr.W.Wallace be schoolmaster; in 1688 the Heritors "called" Mr. Lowrie to be schoolmaster. MS. Falkland K.S. (in P.R.) 15/6/1662 & 11/3/1688, & K.S. 16/12/1649 quoted Downie, p.8. 6. See Appendix, under various : the

their place in the roll of burghs with burgh schools was taken by Pittenweem, which before 1660 paid its schoolmaster out of the box (1) and by 1691 was paying him a salary of £100 out of the Common Good. (2)

Here and there in the records of these other burgh schools we come upon features of interest unparalleled in Cupar, Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, or St. Andrews. In Inverkeithing, for example, there is the dramatic (but luckily only temporary) decay of a once successful school. In 1675 Mr. Malcolm McMullion, M.A. became schoolmaster and took up his residence in the new schoolhouse. His salary was good (over £130 per annum); and, no doubt in the confident expectation that the school would flourish, it was agreed that if the number of pupils increased, a doctor would be appointed. But soon, owing to the master's negligence, the school declined to 6 pupils. This in itself might not have caused his dismissal; he had, however, fallen foul of the Kirk Session for his bad behaviour, and so in 1683 he was removed by the Town Council. (3)

Inverkeithing was unfortunate in its schoolmasters at this time. McMullion's successor, Mr. Duncan Whyte, neglected his duty too. His error was "the using of a great trade and handling in the town contrary to the nature and desyre of his admission"; and having, as the Town Council put it, "diverted himself ther fra (i.e. from his school) this prity space bygone by an trade of making malt & meall & selling there of" he was

1. MS. Pres. St. Andrews 6/3/1661. 2. Municipl Corporation Report, Appendix, "Report on the State of the Royal Burghs". The position in Pittenweem is actually rather more complicated than this. In 1677 the newly called schoolmaster "agreed with the baillies, minister & some of the counsell": his salary was to be £100 & £10 from the sea box; but how much of this was from the Common Good is not known. In 1684, however, his successor was paid £100, of which only £11.6s.8d came from the Common Good, & "50 merks by Sea Box & toun", including 18 merks from a mortification. (MS. Pittenweem B.R. 2/5/1677 & 18/6/1684) But it seems to have been the Kirk Session which made the appointment, on the recommendation of the Magistrates. (MS. Pittenweem K.S. 24/6/1684) In 1692 "the baillies & Counsell ... elect, nominate & choise" Mr. Youngston, at a salary of £100 of which £23.6s.8d was paid by the town. MS. Pittenweem B.R. 27/2/1692. 3. Stephen, History, pp. 390 & 401.

discharged in 1690. (1)

A second burgh teacher who (a little before this) found himself unable to give full attention to his proper work was the doctor of Burntisland Grammar School. The fault here, however, was not his. As he complained to the Town Council, the Minister had on several occasions withdrawn him from his school to carry out unimportant duties in the town. Presumably the Minister desisted when the Bailies, on the instruction of the Council, spoke to him about this; in any case, we hear no more about it. (2)

Another matter to be noticed in the burgh schools was a mild epidemic of violence. Violence in the form of the fierce laying on of hands or tawse has always existed in Scottish schools, and Fife had its share of it, as we have seen. But what was considered to be undue severity did not go unregarded; and in Burntisland in 1673 the schoolmaster, Mr. Francis Hannay, was ordered to be dismissed for irregular discipline and "inhumane belting of the children". (3) It is not, however, attacks by schoolmasters, but attacks on them, which is a feature of the period from 1660 to 1700. In Burntisland there were two cases: the first in 1669 concerns Hannay, so soon to be dismissed; was his assailant an outraged parent? "On Thursday last, the 18th November", complained Hannay to the Town Council, "John Allane, (Skipper) the said day betwixt 10 and 11 hours forenoon quhile the said Mr Francis Hannay was speaking to the children ... John Allane came in upon him and did

1. Stephen, History, p.391. He was succeeded by William Law, M.A. who, on a charge of "some gross & scandalous faults", was asked by the Heritors to demit. Ibid, p.391. 2. MS. Burntisland B.R. 19/11/1661.
3. MS. Burntisland B.R. Nov. 1673 (Quoted Blyth, "Burntisland, Early History & People", Kirkcaldy, 1948, p.179)

mansass and abuse him with evil and scurvie language and did stryke and abuse him upone the head face and other parts of his bodie with ... bloodie strokes and did pull out a great quantity of his hair." For which John Allane, in spite of his plea that he was provoked, was fined £100 and sent to prison. (1) In the second case, in 1686, if the schoolmaster was not struck, he was abused - again with "base and scurvie language" and the assailant on this occasion was the schooldoctor. (2)

Another violent act was that committed upon Mr. John Cunningham, schoolmaster of Crail, in 1684. His supplication to the Privy Council in that year gives the story, if not the background. "Being called" he wrote "fra the schooll off Miniance (3) in anno 1677, where of he was then Master, by the then magistrate of the burgh of Craill to officiat there as master of their grammar schoole and to present in the church" (he entered and received all encouragement ... but of late, on 4th of February, 1684) "one Mr James Moncrieffe, a present bayllie of the said burgh did enter the said school and commanded the petitioner to dismisse the schollers and deliver up the key of the schoole door, and upon the petitioners refuseing to doe the samen, did call for a smith and took off the lock and put one ane new lock thereupon, and so thrust the petitioner and his schollers out of the schooll with out so much as condescending upon any malversations in the petitioner, but only in a private pick which he had most groundlessly conceived against the petitioner". Cunningham added that though he had been put out of his school, he still

1. MS. Burntisland B.R. 22/11/1669. 2. Blyth, op.cit., p.178. Faults on both sides - both admonished. Attacks by doctor on master were an old Burntisland custom - see case in 1635. 3. St. Monance. He was the second schoolmaster to come to Crail from St. Monance. See Appendix, Crail.

continued to present in the Church. The Privy Council left this case in the hands of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, (1) and presumably he found that Moncrieff was acting legally; in any event Mr. Cunningham "willingly demitted" on the 25th December, 1684, and a new schoolmaster was appointed within a month. (2) We may end this tale of violence with the complaint which was made to the Kirk Session of Culross in 1697 by Mr. Thomas Mophet, schoolmaster, against certain boys who "did violently break into the Quire and did ... violently abuse the scholars and beat them, and have broken the dore of the Quire. The session ordered that the masters and parents of the said boyes should be warned". (3)

Mr. Cunningham's reference to the lock on the school door serves to remind us of that ceremony (doubtless derived from an old symbolic rite) instituted in Burntisland in the first half of the century, in which the Magistrates and Town Council demonstrated their control of both their employees and the buildings they provided for them. The Burntisland Council continued the custom into the eighteenth century; each year the schoolmaster and schooldoctor produced the keys of school and dwelling house, and laid them before their employers, the Magistrates and Town Council. The latter evidently believed that the best form of encouragement was an unchanging disapproval of their employees' past work. "Keep better order", "give better attention to your duties" they commanded, before handing the keys back. (4) When in 1671 the Inverkeithing Council introduced the same custom, they at least were more gracious - "being pleasit with the said Mr Riddoch his care and diligence ... they continue him in office". (5)

1. Reg. P.C. Third Series, Vol.VII, p.397. 2. MS. Crail K.S. (in P.R.) 25/12/1684 & 20/1/1685. 3. Beveridge - Culross & Tulliallan, Vol.II, p.15. 4. MS. Burntisland B.R. 3/11/1665, May 1666, Nov. 1667 etc. etc. to 14/11/1668. 5. Stephen, History, p.390. (The custom of delivering the key is also found in Pittenweem. MS. Pittenweem K.S. 24/6/1684.)

As we saw, very many of the Fife Town Councils had already, before 1660, expressed their support of education by erecting an official school building. It is therefore not surprising that there is little evidence of new construction in the last 40 unprosperous years of the century. One exception however there was. In 1675, after a false start, Inverkeithing built a school which conformed to the architectural practice of Dunfermline, Burntisland, and Kirkcaldy by having a dwelling for the schoolmaster in the upper storey. In 1676 it underwent extensive repair: the walls were "hightit, and the ruif helpit, and the fluire laid". Thereafter it served the town for 100 years, the finely dressed ashlar of the north west corner of the walls an enduring witness that workmanship beyond the demands of mere utility had gone to its making. (1)

Elsewhere the old school buildings would require periodic reparation if they were not to become ruinous; and again there is evidence that the Magistrates did not neglect their responsibilities. We have seen how the Cupar Council responded to their schoolmaster's complaint of the icy winds that blew in upon him and his pupils. In Burntisland, a few years later, (i.e. 1669) repairs were carried out on the stairs leading to the master's dwelling above the school. (2) On the other hand, the Crail Magistrates seem to have lost their schoolhouse (if they ever had one) about 1678, and been unable, or unwilling, to find housemail for their schoolmaster; in 1678 the Kirk Session started to pay £5 per half year "for schoolmaster's housemail". Later, however, the Magistrates may have resumed payment of part of the housemail, since we find the Session paying only £5 per annum "as the session's part of housemail". (3)

1. Stephen, History, pp. 401-402. 2. MS. Burntisland B.R. 13/9/1669.
3. MS. Crail K.S. 5/6/1678 - 2/10/1678; 20/1/1685 (in P.R.) & 21/1/1692, 3/12/1692, 14/12/1693.

If, with an eye only to the amenities, we could visit one of those burgh schools, how would it strike us? We know how it appeared to a contemporary. In 1677, only eight years after the Town Council had repaired their schoolhouse, Mr. Thomas Kirk, an English traveller, visited Burntisland. He was not impressed. Near the church, he said, "we saw the schools, wherein were two seats for the two masters; the rest were strewed with grass, moss etc., and all the boys lay there in the litter like pigs in a sty". (1) This has been taken, with the contemporary complaint by the Cupar schoolmaster, and the slightly later cry from St. Andrews that the schoolchildren there had to "wreath upon the floor lying upon their bellies" because there were no desks in the school, as plain evidence that the schoolrooms were little better than noisome hovels. (2) It would be foolish to suggest that they were as well lit, as spacious, as warm, as wind and water tight, as shall we say, those of Victoria's last years. (3) But were they as sombre as they are sometimes painted, and as these quotations would, at first sight, seem to imply? Apart from the indirect evidence to the contrary afforded by the parish schools, with which we shall be dealing later, the very complaints of the schoolmasters suggest that the answer must be "no". Might it not be that their complaints were against unusual conditions, which would find speedy remedy? And in fact, in both Cupar and St. Andrews, speedy remedy was found. Further, we can be sure that when they did complain, they painted with a loaded brush. Who ever heard of a tenant minimising the deficiencies

1. "Tours in Scotland" ed. P.Hume Brown (Edinburgh 1892) p.16.

2. As for example by H. Grey Graham - Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (1906 ed.) pp. 425,426. 3. Very many, perhaps the majority, of the present day schools date from that period.

of his accommodation to his landlord? (1)

These arguments do not dispose of Mr. Kirk, though they do suggest that his somewhat ambiguous statement (2), if read as he no doubt intended it to be read, is probably misleading. Kirk was a splenetic and prejudiced observer - there is hardly a good word said about anything Scottish from first to last page of his account. And yet, and making allowances for the brevity of his "Tour", the omissions, if the school had been in considerable disrepair, are striking. Where are the broken windows? Where the sagging ceiling? Where the holes in the wall? And the "grass, moss etc" - what is that but "bent"? Kirk's description could well, one imagines, apply to many adventure schools and parochial schools in the wilder parts of the county, both then and eighty years later. (3) As a description of a Burgh school in any of the important Fife towns, it does not agree with the rest of the evidence.

1. Much more could be said on this. Two points may be added. Is it credible that gentlemen strangers, and local gentry, would send their sons to the dens so easily and dramatically described? And is it credible that Kirk Sessions would supply Grammars to children who had no opportunity to write in the schools? (In connection with the point about the schoolmaster's complaint, I remember how, in 1925 and 1926, the temporary classrooms in which I passed part of my schooldays used to leak in a rain storm. Our French master would hoist his umbrella. One can imagine a picture of Scottish schools after the First World War based solely on the letters which the Rector must have written to the Education Authority.)
2. Kirk does not say, though one imagines it is what he is trying to imply, that there were only two seats in the room.
3. In his "Modern Account" Kirk uses the paragraph quoted, but applies it, not to Burntisland school (which he does not mention in that work) but to the schools of the Highlands.

Let us turn now to the parochial schools. Few of the landward parishes yield us such a complete and detailed account of their schools as do most of the burghs. The destruction of Presbytery and Kirk Session records has been so considerable that all too often we must enter the realms of conjecture. None the less the general picture is clear enough. In the Presbytery of Dunfermline there were six landward parishes. In 1661 all of them were provided with a parochial schoolmaster, as they were 34 years later. Of these six, Saline is enshrouded in complete darkness between 1662 and 1695. How long the schoolmaster who entered in the former year remained, and when the schoolmaster who was dismissed by the Presbytery in the latter year entered, we have no means of knowing. Carnock's educational history is almost as obscure; we have seen how Mr. Hutton was deposed in 1664 (but he remained in the parish and continued to keep the Session Register until 1670, and quite probably until 1677); (1) a schoolmaster of the place was deposed by the Synod in 1681; another was in office the following year; and when the Presbytery Records resume, we find another schoolmaster, evidently recently deposed, being restored to his office in 1694. In marked contrast with these parishes, with their educational story revealed only by fitful gleams, is Aberdour. There we can trace a continuous succession of graduate schoolmasters from 1660 to 1682; and we can say that the parish was certainly not without a schoolmaster for more than a very short period from 1661 to 1701. The other parishes move into and out of the light; and always when we can glimpse them, each has a schoolmaster. It is not being too speculative to assume that all were, for nearly ^{all} the period, properly provided. (2)

1. For one who is not an expert in handwriting, to base this statement partly on the handwriting of the Session Register is admittedly hazardous. But the Register is, I am convinced, written by the same man from 1650 to 1670. Note also that "Mr J.H. (sic) had a son born" Carnock P.R. 23/10/1667 and "Mr James Hutton had a daughter" Ibid 8/9/1669. 2. See Appendix - various parishes.

From the other presbyteries we obtain the same tantalising mixture of information and silence; but the information they give does not suggest that all were equally well provided with schools. Cupar Presbytery had 15 landward parishes. (1) The educational history of six of these is a blank from 1665 to 1692; (2) and two parishes, Strathmiglo and Auchtermuchty, yield us a solitary reference each to an anonymous schoolmaster, between 1651 and 1699. A ninth is completely hidden from us from 1658 to 1682. (3) Since of these nine, two, (Kilmany and Cults) entered the period without a settled salary, (4) and emerged into view without schoolmasters, it is not unlikely that for most of the 30 years they were served by nothing better than adventure schoolmasters, if by them. But the examples of Strathmiglo and Auchtermuchty warn us of the danger of conclusions based on negative evidence. It is true both parishes had schoolmasters in 1658, and schoolmasters in 1699; yet had not the Strathmiglo schoolmaster, who officiated in 1678 been stubborn and unwilling to take the bishop's licence, and the Auchtermuchty schoolmaster who died in 1681 been sufficiently comfortable and careful to make a will, we should not have known of their existence. (5) It is obviously no less hazardous to postulate a schoolmaster in the absence of any evidence of a vacancy. None the less, it is probable that some of the unchronicled six parishes mentioned above had parochial schoolmasters for most of the period. There were well established schools in three of them by 1660, and one at least of these three had a mortification for a schoolmaster. (6)

To set against these doubtful cases, we have those parishes

1. Including Auchtermuchty. 2. Collessie, Creich, Cults, Flisk, Kilmany, Moonzie. 3. Kettle. 4. In Kilmany the heritors were ordered to stint themselves to provide a salary in 1659; there is no evidence that they did. 5. See Appendix, Auchtermuchty & Strathmiglo. 6. Collessie, Creich, and Kettle - see Appendix. Creich had Henderson's Mortification. MS. Cupar Presbytery, 27/1/1654.

where the records have not perished; and in each there is an almost continuous line of schoolmasters stretching from Restoration to Revolution. (1) Since the periods of service are of interest, it is worth setting them down. They are:- Balmerino, with one schoolmaster in office from 1657 to 1710; Dunbog, with three in the period from 1667 to 1702 of four, six, and 24 years; Logie, with two from 1666 to 1710, the first for 10 years and the second for 34; (2) Monimail, with one schoolmaster in office from 1659 to 1682, and a second from 1685 to 1689; (3) and Newburgh, with one from 1657 to 1669; his successor from 1670 until 1672 (when he became parish minister), and after a period when the school was taught by an "irregular schoolmaster", a fourth from 1673 until 1700. (4) Finally, there is Dairsie, where the records are complete until 1676, and show one schoolmaster in office from 1652 to that year; and the same man, or another of the same name, in office when they recommence in 1700. (5)

The other Presbyteries show broadly the same features, though Kirkcaldy was, as far as one can judge, rather better provided with parish schools and schoolmasters than Cupar, and St. Andrews no worse. Of the ten landward parishes in Kirkcaldy Presbytery, we are in the dark about two (6) from 1660 to 1699; but one of these had a schoolmaster in 1651, and is found with another when the curtain rises in 1697. (7)

1. Coincidence? Where there was a schoolmaster (i.e. a session clerk) the records of course would be written; but their preservation depended, not on the writers, but on their successors. 2. Assuming the clerks of Logie did not neglect to "book" new appointments. There is no record of the first's demission. 3. Note the gap. "A vacancy" is referred to in the K.S. Minutes but there is no indication of how long it was. 4. Appendix, Newburgh. 5. Another schoolmaster entered in 1705, so assuming only one Orme, his reign would be 53 years, i.e. exactly the length of the Balmerino schoolmaster's. But even if there were two Ormes, the good record of Dairsie K.S. in repairing the school and paying poor scholars' fees up to 1676, makes it probable that they would not be long without a schoolmaster in this period. 6. Abbotshall and Leslie. 7. Leslie - see Appendix.

Four other parishes were, we can say with certainty, without masters for only very short periods, if at all. (1) The periods of service of the schoolmasters in these parishes varied from 41 years (1642 to 1683) (2) in one case, to three years (from 1679) in another. (3) Three other parishes exhibit large gaps in the records at the beginning or end of the period. Scoonie's are missing between 1655 and 1677; when they recommence, they show a schoolmaster in possession, and thereafter the school was always provided. We know nothing of the school in Kinglassie until 1680; in that year we find a schoolmaster who was to remain until 1685, to be followed by another who remained for ten years. Kennoway was never without a schoolmaster until 1675; in the interval between then and 1691 we have the names of two schoolmasters who served the parish, but how long they stayed we cannot say; thereafter the parish school was taught until the end of the century by three schoolmasters with terms of two, two, and six years respectively. (4) Finally, one parish leaves us in darkness from 1669 (when one schoolmaster was in office after 21 years of teaching in the parish school) until 1684, when we find another, who remained until 1689. The succeeding schoolmasters taught in the parish for periods of two and five years. (5)

In St. Andrews Presbytery, which had 14 landward parishes, four were never without a parochial schoolmaster from 1660 to 1690; (6) another may have been without a schoolmaster for a short time, but this

1. Auchtertool, Ballingry, Markinch & Wemyss. See Appendix for details.
2. Mr. Thrift in Auchtertool; see Appendix. 3. Mr. Blair in Wemyss; see Appendix. 4. See Appendix, Scoonie, Kinglassie, Kennoway. 5. See Appendix; Ballingry. To some extent (indicated in the Appendix) this is based on the hand and on the style of entry in the Parish Register. 6. Ferry, Kingsbarns, Large, Newburn; see Appendix.

is not very likely (1); and two leave us without any direct information whatever of their educational state, between 1664 and 1690 (though one of these, as it afforded "no settled maintenance" in 1655 and "no legal salary" in 1709, probably had a bad record in the years between, (2) whereas the other, with its schoolmaster and "competent maintenance" in 1664, and its schoolmaster in 1693, when it emerges from obscurity, probably had a good record.) (3) The other seven parishes reveal themselves in parish and Presbytery records for varying periods; and each had a parish schoolmaster for part, if not all, of the period 1660 to 1690. But for the details the reader must be referred to the appendix, where he will find set out what is known about each parish school. He will agree, I think, when the details are before him, that it is highly probable that four of these seven parishes (Elie, Kemback, Kilrenny, and Leuchars) had each a parochial schoolmaster throughout the period, and were as well provided, indeed, as the best parish in the Presbytery.

The parish schoolmasters in the Presbytery seem to have been given to rather long periods of service in one place. One schoolmaster taught in Largo school for 34 years from 1636, and was succeeded by another who remained for 19 years. In Newburn there were only two masters between 1664 and 1704: one taught for 12 years, the other for 28. In Kingsbarns one schoolmaster taught from 1663 to 1680; in Kilconquhar one taught from 1673 to 1716. On the other hand, there were some who remained for as little as one year; and terms of two, four, and eight years are found. (4)

1. Kilconquhar, with possible gap from 1677 to 1683.
2. Cameron. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 21/3/1655 & 6/7/1709.
3. Carnbee - See Appendix. 4. See under the parishes mentioned, Appendix. Ferry, Kingsbarns, and Elie offer examples of schoolmasters with short or moderately short service.

It is possible that in this period the Presbyteries did not, as a matter of course, enquire into the educational qualifications of the would-be schoolmasters. There is not one recorded instance of the examination of a candidate "in his grammar" by the Presbytery of St. Andrews between 1660 and 1697. (1) And although the Presbytery of Dunfermline took trial of some appointees, (2) it would seem that it was left to the discretion of the Kirk Session to refer a candidate for a teaching post to the Presbytery. In 1669 the heritors and elders of Aberdour were faced with a vacancy in the school. "It was said by some that none should be admitted without a dispute and the best to enjoy the plaice. This opinion of thairs was thought ridiculous wherefore it was put to voteing ... And condescended that Master Walter Andersone should be schoolmaster providing he be found qualified Thairfore they remitt his qualification to the presbyterie being the fittest judge in matters of such cases". (3)

As one would guess from the considerable difference in the terms served by the schoolmasters not only in different parishes, but also in the same parish, the heritors made appointments for varying periods. Some schoolmasters were appointed only after a trial of a year or less. (4) Thereafter they might be "continued for succeeding years" (i.e. appointed for a year at a time, one imagines) like the schoolmaster of Kennoway, (5) or appointed at pleasure. (6) A number of appointments were made without a probationary period - as in Beath, Scoonie, Torryburn, and Wemyss. (7)

1. After 1697 every schoolmaster was, as far as we can tell, tried by the Presbytery. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 28/7/1697; 1/12/1697; 16/3/1698 etc.
2. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 8/6/1671 & 25/10/1671. 3. MS. Aberdour K.S. 23/9/1669. 4. Ibid 3/10/1669 (trial for one year); MS. Kennoway K.S. 13/7/1665 ("for one year"); MS. St. Andrews Pres. 5/7/1682 (referring to Kingsbarns - "they had not settled him till they tried him"). 5. MS. Kennoway K.S. 13/7/1665. 6. As, it seems, was done in Aberdour in September 1670.
7. MS. Beath K.S. 12/10/1673; MS. Scoonie K.S. 26/5/1689; MS. Torryburn K.S. 6/6/1660 & 9/1/1671; MS. Wemyss K.S. 24/8/1679.

In 1673 the elders and heritors of Beath appointed a schoolmaster for one year; (1) in the other parishes no term was mentioned. And at least one schoolmaster claimed that his appointment was "ad vitam et ad culpam". (2)

The problems that faced the parish authorities in that age, once the first great problem of setting up or maintaining a school and keeping it supplied with a schoolmaster had been surmounted, were in essentials the same in the Restoration era as before and after. They had to find money for salaries, they had to find or build schoolhouses, they had to ensure that the children of the parish were sent to the school (and pay for the "poor scholars"), they had to ensure that their schoolmasters were protected from damaging competition, and yet support, where they could, schools in outlying parts, and they had to maintain the necessary standards of learning in their schools. We have seen what measure of success they had in setting up schools and finding schoolmasters. Let us examine how they dealt with these other problems.

As has been mentioned, the repeal of the (Education) Act of 1646 meant the disappearance of minimum and maximum salaries for parochial schoolmasters. The heritors were still expected to provide "a competent maintainance", but what they paid was often paid grudgingly, and, as we shall see, in many cases the schoolmaster's salary was paid, not by them, but "out of the box".

Salaries varied from parish to parish in that era as greatly as they had done in the years before 1660, but whereas then the trend had

1. MS. Beath K.S. 12/10/1673. 2. In Leuchars. MS. St.Andrews Pres. 7/4/1686.

been upwards, now it was downwards. In Torryburn, for example, in 1660 the salary had been 300 merks, (1) in 1671 it was only 124 merks and casualties - and that for being schoolmaster, precentor, and session clerk. (2) The schoolmaster who was appointed to Aberdour in 1669 found that he had to agree to a cut of "the annual rent of 50 merks and part of the casualties". (3) These were large and important parishes - both had risen to the dignity of a doctor in the school before 1660. The poor schoolmaster of Beath had to do with much less - in 1662 the Presbytery found he had only £40. (4) Much the same range of salaries is found in the other presbyteries. In Ballingry in 1668 £48 and 4 bolls 2 pecks of victual was paid. (5) The Kennoway heritors, at that time, paid their schoolmaster £30. The Presbytery of St. Andrews found that the Kemback schoolmaster had "only 90 merks" in 1664; that, in the same year, the Carnbee schoolmaster had "a competent maintainance"; that in 1673 the schoolmaster of Kilconquhar had £40; and that the schoolmaster of Kilrenny had £100. (6) The Newburn schoolmaster had £125.6s.8d as schoolmaster and clerk - but he was fortunate in having £45.6s.8d from Wood's Mortification; the heritors paid only £66.13s.4d (100 merks). (7) In Cupar Presbytery information is much more scanty: Dunbog heritors promised their schoolmaster 100 merks in 1667; (8) in Balmerino it is possible that the

1. MS. Torryburn K.S. 6/6/1660. 2. Ibid 9/1/1671. The details of his salary are worth setting out:- "40 pounds out of the lands of Crumlie and Cults. Item fourtie merks money vicarage of the gudes of land of the quarters, lying withen the parissee of Torrie Item to the Kirk dewties agried upon ... Item to eight pounds mortified be the deceist Mr James Sybbald with eight pounds of annual rent of two hundredth merks in the hands of the meason in Culross". 3. MS. Aberdour K.S. 3/10/1669. 4. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 3/12/1662. 5. Jamie, "Old Church Life in Ballingry", p.68. The victual would be worth some £20 p.a. Cf. MS. Monimail K.S. (in P.R.) 12/3/1671 - "and give the schoolmaster 8 bolls of bear at £5 the boll". 6. MS. St.Andrews Pres. 7/9/1664; 21/9/1664; 10/12/1673; & 16/8/1677. 7. Ibid 30/8/1682. 8. MS. Dunbog K.S. 15/9/1667.

pre-1660 salary of 100 merks was continued; in Ceres there was Hope's mortification (1,000 merks) which in 1631 produced 100 merks (how much it produced later we do not know); (1) in Creich too there was a mortification dating from 1648; (2) and in Logie, from some time before 1666, another, of 1,000 merks. (3)

The interest from the mortifications presumably continued to be paid, though not always promptly. The schoolmaster of Monimail had to wait from 1663 to May, 1667, for £20 of "mortified salary"; and from December, 1666, to November, 1668. (4) But the sums the heritors had agreed to pay were, in many parishes, either withheld altogether or paid only after the schoolmaster was driven almost to distraction to collect them. (5) "The schoolmaster behaved to take the benefit of the law to get satisfaction from the Tenants" wrote the Session Clerk of Carnock in 1660. (6) In 1664 the minister of Markinch undertook if necessary "to use the Law against those persons that are resting and awand to the said Mr William (Ballingall, late schoolmaster) a part of his yeirly stipend". (7) In 1671 the schoolmaster of Dunbog declared he would remove because of the "evill payment" of his salary. (8) His successor made the same complaint and uttered the same threat in 1676; he however agreed to stay on for a further year when the Session paid him "out of the box". (9)

1. MS. Ceres K.S. 22/5/1631; & 10/7/1631. 2. MS. Cupar Pres. 27/1/1654.
3. MS. Logie K.S. (in P.R.) 10/9/1666. "Ane heritable band of ... 1000markes" was handed over to the Session on that day, in satisfaction of the mortification. 4. MS. Monimail K.S. (in P.R.) 26/5/1667 & 6/11/1670. 5. "Many parishes" - certainly not all and probably not most, though the scrappy records preclude us from being more definite than that. 6. MS. Carnock K.S. (in P.R.) 16/12/1660. 7. MS. Markinch K.S. (in P.R.) 22/5/1664.
8. MS. Dunbog K.S. 5/2/1671. 9. Ibid 3/4/1676.

Not paying the salary they had agreed to - even if under pressure - may have seemed to some of the heritors an effective, if crude, device. Others adopted the pre-Restoration expedient of obstructing the settlement of a schoolmaster. For example, in December 1683, a mere seventeen months after their last schoolmaster had gone from the parish, "a meeting of the heritors (of Monimail) was intimated from the pulpit to be on Friday next for settling a maintenance for the schoolmaster but they did not meet at the appointed time". (1) So successful were these Fabian tactics that, it seems, no schoolmaster was appointed until 1685. (2)

It was the Kirk Session, as these last references show, that shouldered the obligation the heritors shrugged off. It is not certain how many of them had to keep the schoolmaster for all, or most, of those years, as Kilrenny Kirk Session apparently had to do; (3) but temporary "accommodation" was usual, as we have seen. This took the form of loans where it did not come as an out and out gift. In Kingsbarns, for example, we find the schoolmaster borrowing £22 from the box at one time, £9 at another; (4) loans necessitated, in part at least, by the failure of the heritors to pay him promptly. (5) Mr. William Ballingall, of Markinch, mentioned above, died owing 12 dollars to the box. (6) Indeed, some heritors thought it the most natural thing in the world that the Kirk Session should step in and aid the schoolmaster when they had done all that they

1. MS. Monimail K.S. (in P.R.) 23/12/1683. 2. Ibid 8/11/1685. The records "written by Will Orme (minister) supplying the want of a session clerk" are full from July 1682 to July 1684, and there is no record of the appointment of a schoolmaster. After a gap of 17 months, they open with the appointment of Mr. John Dewar as schoolmaster, precentor, and session clerk.
3. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 16/8/1677. Cf. the burgh of Anstruther Easter, which paid the schoolmaster's salary out of the box because of "the low condition of the town". Ibid 6/2/1661. The low condition of the town continued.
4. MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 17/5/1688 & 12/11/1671. 5. His will mentioned "all that was owed him by the heritors". Ibid 11/4/1680. See also MS. Ferry K.S. 18/12/1679 - "Quhilk day Mr John Kid scoolmaster desyred len of £5.12s. ... (to Whit)". 6. MS. Markinch K.S. (in P.R.) 22/5/1664.

considered necessary. "The provision of the schoolmaster was but mean", the Presbytery of St. Andrews was told by the Kirk Session of Kingsbarns in 1682; but it "could not be bettered by the heritours because already they gave whatt the law alloweth"; the heritors, however, thought "the session might augment the schoolmaster's provision, they having considerable mortifications". (1)

In addition to this help, which should not have been expected from the Session, there were of course the schoolmaster's precenting fees, which were paid after, as before, 1660. One schoolmaster (who described himself as "the Domine" (sic)) actually drew payment for gravedigging in the last years of the century; (2) but in this he was unique in the county. There were also the fees, which the Session continued to fix, for registering births, marriages, and deaths, and these the Schoolmaster as Session Clerk continued to receive. (3)

More closely connected with the business of teaching were the fees for poor scholars - invariably paid by the Kirk Session. One gets the impression that more was done in this matter after 1660 than before. Wherever the Kirk Treasurer's accounts have survived, there are records of regular payments. The smallest "quarter wage" was 6s.8d. (Though the Kingsbarns Kirk Session authorised their minister to pay as little as 5s at

1. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 5/7/1672. 2. MS. Ballingry K.S. (in P.R.) 2/6/1699; 25/6/1699; 13/8/1699. For "Domine" - Ibid 1/11/1686 & 9/3/1700.
3. e.g. MS. Dunbog K.S. 15/9/1667, where the fees were - Proclamation 16s.8d; Baptism 6s.8d; Testimonial 3s.4d. And note MS. Kennoway K.S. 21/12/1673 - The Kirk Session ordained that their schoolmaster was "only to keep an (burial register of those who are of not and accompt and have the use of the sessional mortcloath". He already kept baptism and marriage registers. Note also MS. Dunbog K.S. 30/3/1684 - "The minister and Elders considering the loss that the Session Clerk was at by not receiving his dues from them who had their children Baptised in this parish thought fitt that heirafter every one should pay ... their dues before the minister should enter the church to go about That Action".

his discretion, (1) he always paid more.) (2) Ferry Port on Craig and Kilrenny both paid 5s.8d at various times. (3) But each paid more than this on occasion - Kilrenny 7s per quarter (4) and Ferry 10s. (5) Other "quarter wages" were 10s, (6) 12s, (7) 13s.4d, (8) 14s. (9) One parish, however, paid not according to the number of poor scholars attending the parish school, but by a block grant of £16 per annum. (10)

The amounts that came to the schoolmasters from this source naturally varied considerably, in a particular parish over a space of time, and from parish to parish. For example, in Kingsbarns the schoolmaster received at least £8.14s.8d in 1665; in 1689, £5.6s.8d; and in 1695 as much as £16. (11) In Aberdour in 1664-5 the schoolmaster received £6; in 1670 he received £10; and in 1680, £14. (12) Other parishes supported only some four or five poor scholars for part of the year only: the Dunbog Kirk Session (if the Treasurer's accounts are complete) paid only £2.10s for poor scholars in 1678 and only £2.8s the following year. (13)

1. MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 20/9/1664. 2. Ibid 22/1/1665, and regularly to 1/2/1680. See also 28/6/1696. 3. MS. Ferry K.S. 10/10/1675; 17/1/1677 & 18/3/1677. MS. Kilrenny K.S. 23/9/1677. 4. MS. Kilrenny K.S. 22/10/1693. 5. MS. Ferry K.S. 1/3/1663, 15/3/1668, 19/11/1671. 6. In, for example, Torryburn - MS. Torryburn K.S. 3/3/1672 and March, 1674; Scoonie - MS. Scoonie K.S. 20/12/1688; Dunbog - MS. Dunbog K.S. 3/2/1678. 7. MS. Dunbog K.S. 15/9/1662 & 15/12/1672. 8. In Newburgh - Laing, Newburgh, p.269. (in 1686) 9. In Ballingry - MS. Ballingry K.S. 28/6/1691. 10. Newburgh, from March 1666 to May 1686. MS. Newburgh K.S. 25/3/1666. He was not to "receave the samen any more in tyme coming unless he give up ane list of their names to the Sessione and that their parents come to the Sessione and desire the benefit of learning in all tymes heirafter". He was not always paid promptly. "17 June 1677 ... given to the schol master for six yeirs space sixtien pounds per annum indē #96-00-00." 11. MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 22/1/1665; 28/5/1665; 13/8/1665; 7/11/1665; 29/3/1689; 3/11/1695. The Treasurer's accounts may not be complete; and it is possible that an entry has been missed in the examination of the rather crowded pages - but not very likely. 12. MS. Aberdour K.S. - Distributions 13/3/1664 to 12/2/1665; 22/2/1670 to 5/3/1671; & 25/4/1680. 13. MS. Dunbog K.S. 3/2/1678 & 23/3/1679. See also MS. Beath K.S. (in P.R.) 14/6/1676.

How many adventure schools there were in the landward parishes it is impossible to compute; (1) and how many Kirk Sessions followed the practice of their brethren in the burghs, and maintained poor scholars in the establishments of the parish schoolmaster's competitors, is unknown. One parish at least did this - Kingsbarns, where in September 1664, Margaret Corstorphin was paid £1.10s "for teaching Patrick Browne five quarters", and Mr. Martin Corstorphin "for teaching of poor scholars in Pitmilley and one in Cambo ground and upon uther weighty considerations" was paid £4. (2) On the same day, we note, the parish schoolmaster was given £3.10s for "quarter payments".

Another regular payment to the schoolmaster, again made by the Kirk Session, was housemail - only, of course, where no schoolhouse had been provided for him. The sums varied but little - Aberdour Kirk Session paid £10 a year from 1669 to 1681 (3) (before that it had paid £9); (4) Markinch paid £9; (5) Scoonie paid £10 in 1689, but by 1693 was paying £9; (6) Ferry Port on Craig paid £8 at first, but by 1675 was paying £9. (7) The Dunbog Kirk Session, on the other hand, before they built a schoolhouse (in 1672) paid their schoolmaster a miserable £4 a year; (8) but to offset this, Kilrenny Kirk Session paid (it appears) as much as 20 merks. (9)

1. That they existed is certain, see below p. 2. MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 20/9/1664. 3. MS. Aberdour K.S. 26/9/1669, 29/11/1674 & 26/12/1675 - "the same since his entrey", & 15/11/1681. 4. Ibid Nov. 1659 & 19/7/1660. 5. Except for the break in the records from 1665 to 1680, there is a note of a yearly payment from 29/5/1659 to 14/11/1698 - MS. Markinch K.S. sub anno. 6. MS. Scoonie K.S. 31/12/1689; 14/7/1693; 25/7/1694. 7. MS. Ferry K.S. 24/5/1668; 29/11/1668 etc. to 19/11/1671. On 16/5/1675 the schoolmaster "was appointed by the session to provide for himself quhat ever he thought fit, and if he payed not beyond ... £9 (which was the meall of the present house he hade) it should be payed out of the box and what more it was be payed from himself". 8. MS. Dunbog K.S. 24/11/1667, 9/8/1669. This was not necessarily the total rent of the house he rented. See footnote (7) above and Kennoway K.S. 12/4/1692. 9. MS. Kilrenny K.S. (in P.R.) 9/3/1678. Regular payments were made thereafter, but the sums are not given.

What sort of a house could the schoolmaster get for his £8 or £9? The "but and ben" which Kennoway Kirk Session built for their schoolmaster in 1692 was, they considered, worth more than the £8 or £9 of schoolmail which had always been paid "out of the box". (1) That schoolhouse, and the others which were built or projected towards the end of the seventeenth century, give us a hint of the answer. And we remember that the Crail Magistrates, to prove how stricken their town was, declared that "the rent of the best house was but £20". (In other words, their best was pretty bad - you could not get much for £20.) It is certain that the parochial schoolmaster did not live luxuriously in his £9 house.

Nevertheless even the parochial schoolmaster had his standards; and at least one showed plainly that he would not put up with any accommodation he was offered. Mr. John Kid of Ferry Port on Craig (not, it must be admitted, the most patient of men) (2) told his Kirk Session that "he wold not remain in the house that he was in by reason of its unsufficiencie"; and the Kirk Session agreed that he should find himself something better. (3) If Kid did change his dwelling, he hardly bettered his condition. Two years later "Margaret Hay ... came to the session earnestlie entreating them to len her some money for to cause the east givyl of that house where the schoolmaster dwells which hath fallen shee being content that the session should keep possession theirof as and while they be compleitlie payed of all that she be aughting to them". That the Session recognised an obligation going beyond the simple paying of housemail is shown by their agreeing to this request - they lent her £20. (4) In 1679, the request was repeated, and

1. MS. Kennoway K.S. 12/4/1692. 2. He confessed, when charged with various offences, that "he sometimes swear in his wrath". MS. Ferry K.S. (in P.R.) 4/5/1697. 3. Ibid 16/5/1675. 4. Ibid 1/4/1677.

answered by the loan of £12. (1)

Naturally it was better, financially and for the dignity of the parish, that school and schoolhouse should be owned by the official providers of education; and during those thirtysix years we can trace the efforts of many of the parishes that had one or other of these buildings to keep them in repair; and of several of the remainder to provide themselves, so that they might be freed from the burden of schoolmail or that the Kirk "might no longer be mad use of as a school". Aberdour, Dunbog, and Kennoway all built either a school or a schoolhouse - not without a struggle, as we shall see. Kilconquhar and Ballingry had excellent intentions, which may or may not have resulted in something more concrete; and in Auchterderran, Dairsie, Kingsbarns, Logie and Monimail we can follow the efforts of Kirk Session (and Heritors too, on occasion) to cope with the elements and the deficiencies of earlier builders.

How long drawn out the process of building could be! In 1666 the Aberdour Kirk Session, "considering the usefulness of a schoolhouse for the scholars and for the schoolmaster's better accommodation quhilk they intended many years ago (2) and brought it a good length and bought timber, lime and slaits, and brought some stones for the building of the same", determined to delay no longer. Those who had borrowed "the great peasts belonging were ordered to provide them against Martinmas next". (3) But many a Martinmas was to pass before the schoolhouse was built. In 1675 the Session caused summon "Cockairny, Andrew McKie and Dalgetie to the Commissariot Court (? of Dunkeld) to make promise of payment of the things

1. MS. Ferry K.S. (in P.R.) 24/8/1679. 2. In 1650, in fact. See MS. Aberdour K.S. 30/4/1650. 3. Ibid 9/9/1666.

they medlet with quhilk should have bigged the school". (1) And meantime the Kirk Session paid housemail year by year. (2) But at last it was built; two entries in the Session's Register of Disbursements complete the story. "2 October 1681 - to the officer for summonding the heritors before the Commissariot Court of Dunkeld to hear themselves decerned for their several proportions in erecting a schoolhouse -- 01-06-00"; and "24 October 1681 - For obtaining a decreit against the heritors for erecting a schoolhouse - 03-12-00". (3)

Before 1681, when Aberdour acquired this new school-and-schoolhouse, it had a building recognised as the school; and the upkeep of this was accepted by the Kirk Session, which in 1672 paid £18 to a slater from Burntisland "for peynting the whole Kirk and the schools in the month of November last". (4)

From Aberdour we learn little about the size, style and furnishings of the school, but it will be seen that the schoolhouse projected in 1650 was to be roofed with slates. This, though not uncommon, was not universal - the school of Dunbog, built in 1672, was thatched. (5) For a more detailed picture than either Aberdour or Dunbog can offer, we have to turn to Kennoway, where we are granted, in addition, a delightful glimpse of a canny Kirk Session approaching the question of building with a clear conception of what was due to their schoolmaster and a firm resolve that he himself should pay for anything more luxurious than the customary

1. MS. Aberdour K.S. 19/9/1675. 2. Ibid 6/12/1674 and regularly to 15/11/1681. 3. Ibid, sub anno. The payments for housemail cease after 15/11/1681. By 1718 the school was being repaired. (Ibid 6/11/1718 & 18/9/1719.) 4. Ibid 1/12/1672. 5. MS. Dunbog K.S. 21/12/1672 - "Item for thacking and building a loume in the school - 29-3-4d". This school was repaired in 1704 at a cost of £44.19s. Ibid 17/12/1704.

accommodation. In 1691, the Kirk Session was repaid various loans, amounting in all to 200 merks of principal and £32 of interest. "The minister enquired if any of them knew of a secure hand to put the said money into by loan. All answered they knew of none to borrow it. Some thought it convenient to employ it for building a house to the schoolmaster and a school seeing the meall of his house, or at least eight or nine pounds, was always payed out of the box. But this being ane affair that required time and workmen to consider the same it was delayed this day". (1) At the next meeting "all agreed therupon ... but to do it deliberately". (2) A month later it was resolved that "a rod & ane half of ground be feued from the Laird of Balfour, in order to the building the said house and school, ane yard, & that the said house be built consisting of two rooms, & ane school of ane cupple room, & that all be agried upon, on a pennie". (3) The "houses" were to consist of "four stone geavels three ground cupples, the side walls seven quarters high of ordinar breadth & length, of three stone chimneys, two hewen doors, & three windows The session being to call the stones & other carriage ffor which they are to give two hundredth Merks at the terms contained in the contract. The session considering the expense of building the said houses, and the price of the said ground, will exceed the money that is ordinarily payed for the schoolmaster's house meall, Therefore (that the poor be not wronged) They enact by unanimous vote that the schoolmaster or any possessing the said houses be obliged to pay the interest of the money exceeding 200 which if he refuse to do, they will only allow him the school, and sett the house & chamber. And also the school-

1. MS. Kennoway K.S. 6/3/1691. 2. Ibid 15/3/1691. 3. Ibid 12/4/1691.

master is to pay the few dutie for the said ground yearly & report discharges to the session therfore". (1)

Remembering Mr. Thomas Kirk and the school of Burntisland, we note that £4.4s was spent on "timber to be seats to the school and workmanship". (2) "Glass to the school" cost £1.12s, (3) and slates cost £2.16s. (4) All told, £161.12s.8d was spent on this school by 1695. (5)

How big was this school, with its walls of "ordinar breadth and length"? Probably not as big as the proposed school and schoolhouse of Kilconquhar, on which the Kirk Session intended to spend £250, the heritors providing the building materials - "lime, sand, stone, and timber great and small". For their money (part of the vacant stipends for 1689 and 1690 - the desire to build may have been awakened here, as in Kennoway, by the sharp increase in their funds) they hoped to obtain a school 38 feet long and 14 feet broad, i.e. larger than most of the parish schools which were to be built in the next hundred years. (6) It was to have "two hewn doors beneath, one above, an outside stone stair, five hewn windows $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, with joists, flooring, roof, partitions, doors, windows and window cases, and four chimneys". (7)

This project was perhaps too ambitious, too burgh-like, for any other end than frustration. But others, much less grand, came to grief too. There was, for instance, the humble dwelling that the heritors of Ballingry (urged on by the Presbytery) agreed to build in 1668, at a cost of

1. MS. Kennoway K.S. 25/4/1691. 2. Ibid (Cash Book) 27/9/1691. And note also that seats were evidently provided in Aberdour when the school was built there: the schoolmaster asked for "moe seats" in 1716 (MS. Aberdour K.S. 23/11/1716) and there is no record (in a very full cash book) of seats for the school between 1680 and 1716. 3. Ibid 27/12/1692. 4. Ibid 18/7/1692. But note in 24/12/1701 - "for thaik to the school". "Thaik" is sometimes used for "slates" however. 5. Ibid 27/9/1691 to 17/7/1695. 6. e.g. Saline, 21 feet by 12 feet - in 1713 (MS. Saline K.S. 29/12/1713) Cleish, 32 ft. by 14 ft. in 1735 (MS. Dunfermline Pres. 25/6/1735) Culross, (by then a parochial school) 32 ft. by 15 ft. in 1767 (MS. Ibid 29/4/1767). 7. Dick, Colinsburgh, p.102.

100 merks. (1) In 1671 a further meeting of the heritors was called "about building of the schoole and schoolmaster's house". (2) In 1677 the Presbytery discovered that no real progress had been made. (3) In 1687 the weather took a hand: John Robertson (who was paid £1 for his trouble) cast and won 2,000 divots for the school, but they were "lost by rain" that summer. (4) As late as 1719 the building - only 23 feet long by 13 feet broad - was still uncompleted: the walls were up, but there was no roof. And then the Kirk Session decided that, after all, the wrong site had been chosen; so they resolved to build the school in another part of the parish. (5)

Another parish in the same Presbytery furnishes us with a more cheerful history; and with an illustration of how even "promiscuous dancing" could contribute to educational progress, in the years immediately after the Revolution of 1688. The Kirk Session of Wemyss, wrote their clerk in 1695, "when they came to the Kirk, found the old school altogether ruinous, so that for severall years they had a school to hire, & a house to the schoolmaster, & having had severall meetings of purpose to consult wither it should be fitt to repair the old school or build the new, ... att length ... it was found most convenient to build the new School in a retired place, as is the custome of all publick schools to be, and to build a new bridge because the old was very ruinous, indangering young children in the day time by falling through it, and for many other weighty reasons. And the new school with the bridge being built, they find the expenses of both to amount to £300 Scots". He went on to tell how the sale of the old school brought in £100, and how a

1. Jamie, "Old Church Life in Ballingry", p.68. 2. Ibid p.70. 3. Ibid, p.70.
4. MS. Ballingry K.S. (in P.R.) 2/7/1688. 5. Jamie, op.cit. p.71. The school-children throughout these 50 years met in the parish church. Ibid, p.69.

further £100 came from "forfeited dollars for promiscuous dancing at Weddings". The remaining £600 was "to be divided (equally) betwixt the Countess of Weemys as sole heritor, and the paroch". (1)

The pressure of a Presbytery, the repayment of a loan, the becoming ruinous of an old school, did not exhaust the occasions for building. A gift from a departing parish minister might start the process. "The Minister having some stones and lyme lying by him which he intendit to have used for repairing of his owne house, being now called from this place to the toune of Perth, & he having no use for them that way, did freelie bestow them upon Mr Arthur Bruce, Schoolmaster, to help to build a schoole that the church might not any longer be mad use of as a schoole, which schoole he desired him to build upon the west end of his own house, or if he should not find it convenient thair, in any other place about the west side of the kirkyard. ... The minister desirit the Session, & seeing he had given stones & lyme to build a schoole, that they would give the schoolmaster the two forfeaulted penalties, being four dollars that were in the pledge purse, to help him to build the schoole thereabouts. The Session did unanimously condescend, as also they did condescend in so far as they were concerned that the schoolemaster should be permitted to cut also such timber in the yirds as will suffice for building & timbering the schoole that was to be built, providing always the patrons & Heritors of the paroch be concurt therewith".(2)

These accounts show that, in spite of delaying actions, (3) there was a considerable measure of schoolbuilding going on at this time.

1. MS. Wemyss K.S. 17/1/1695. (My italics) 2. A. McNeill Houston, "Auchterderran, a Parish History", (Paisley, 1924) p.269. 3. And seizure of materials for the school by those who should have known better - "The minister did shew to the sessioun that he behoved to make use of a tree belonging to the schoole in the tyme of a great winde (?)". MS. Ferry Port on Craig K.S. 23/2/1668.

And in parish after parish which already had its school efforts were made to keep the school in a decent state of repair - again at the expense of the Kirk. Small items - such as the provision of a key to the school door, (1) the "casting the two gavells of the school with lyme (13s.4d), (2) the making of "a timber case to the windows of the school" (for 3s.8d), (3) the "riggining of the school" (6s), (4) "casting of divots to the school" (5) - and large - such as the very extensive repairs carried out in Kingsbarns in 1686, which cost £12.19s (6) - are paid for out of the box. And these items include at least one for glass for the school windows (7); and another "for twa candlesticks for the use of the school 6s"; (8) so some at least of the parish schools were not dark hovels.

The efforts of the Kirk Session to ensure that children took advantage of the parish school (whether in a specially provided schoolhouse or not) need not detain us long. The Ministers and Elders who ruled after 1660 behaved much as their predecessors had done before that date. Parents

1. MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 31/5/1685. 2. MS. Dairsie K.S. 8/10/1671.
 3. Ibid 16/1/1676. 4. MS. Logie K.S. 19/11/1676. 5. MS. Monimail K.S. 13/10/1671. 6. MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 14/3/1686. The account "paid out of the box" is worth giving in full.
 - Imprimis a boll of lime stone - £2
 - more the cairiage of them - 16s
 - more half hundred sclates - £2
 - more for cairying them from Craill - 3s
 - To George Brown sclater for working the lime and pointing the school - £7
 - More for a daill made lath - 10s
 - more 3 hundred nails for fastening lath - £1.10s
- This was the third large repair since 1660. In 1663 it was reported that if the school were "not helped speedily the roofo of the schoole was like (?) to be lost". Ibid 2/11/1663. In 1676 the Heritors stented themselves £204 for repairs to the Kirk and School. Ibid 2/7/1676.
7. Ibid 22/9/1685. 8. MS. Newburgh K.S. 22/11/1670.

were exhorted from the pulpit to put their children to the school, (1) and potential pupils were sought out by the elders and reported to the session if their parents did not heed the minister's exhortations. (2)

Such activity was a direct aid to the parochial schoolmaster. In addition, the Session tried to protect him from harmful competition. "This day the session" (of Ferry Port-on-Craig) we read, "considering that the town was not able to furnish two scools, ane woman school, and ane manscooll, condescended to discharge the woman scooll especially from learning of lads". (3) In Ballingry the Kirk Session laid down that there was to be no adventure school "unless it be a woman's school to teach lasses to sue only". (4) But (as we noticed when we were considering the aid given to teachers of poor scholars) some adventure schoolmasters were not only tolerated but directly encouraged. In Kingsbarns (with at one time both an adventure schoolmistress and adventure schoolmaster) the schoolmistress was paid for teaching a poor boy; and no doubt there were other boys at her school. Here, the reason for this encouragement was probably the great extent of the parish and the off centre position of the parish school. (5) And the similar great size of Wemyss, and the existence there of a number of populous villages, was probably behind the action of Wemyss Kirk Session, which in 1666 decided to "give the annual rent of 500 merks yearlie for a help to the mentenance of him who teaches the children in Wester Weemes sua long as the bailies of Wester Weemes shall keip a man amongst them able and qualified to that purpose and no otherways". (6)

1. MS. Kennoway K.S. 19/11/1671; MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 25/9/1670; MS. Wemyss K.S. 24/8/1679. 2. Ballingry in 1669 - Jamie, Ballingry, p.69; and MS. Dunbog K.S. 16/6/1672. Cf. MS. Torryburn K.S. (in P.R.) 17/10/1652. 3. MS. Ferry K.S. (in P.R.) 24/8/1679. Earlier, all adventure schools had been discharged. (Ibid 17/9/1676) 4. Jamie, Ballingry, p.69. 5. Kingsbarns parish is almost square, 4 miles by 4. The village, where Kirk & school were situated, is about 1 mile from one side of the square - the coast. 6. MS. Wemyss K.S. 8/2/1666.

But in this very parish five years later, the session refused the request of the inhabitants of Buckhaven village "to have a man kept in their town for teaching their young children ... seeing it seemed to be prejudicial to the public school in the parish". (1)

Several other matters may be dismissed more briefly - matters in which, where the evidence permits comparison with the position before 1660, little change can be observed after that date. First there is the question of the education offered to girls. How did it compare with what was given to their brothers? As we have seen, the burgh and parish authorities in that era, as in the period before 1660, did often distinguish between schools for lasses and "manschools" or schools teaching lads; but when they came to pay the fees for poor scholars, the schoolmaster drew as much for a poor girl as for a poor boy, and presumably the same subjects were taught to both. (2) It is, however, the case that where we are given the names of poor scholars, boys outnumber girls; and that in the early years of the eighteenth century there were more illiterate women than men among the witnesses examined by Kirk Session and Presbytery. We may conclude that though those who attended the schools were given much the same education, without distinction of sex (in the elementary branches at least),

1. MS. Wemyss K.S. 8/1/1671.

2. Since many of the Kirk Treasurers neglected to enter the names of the poor scholars, direct positive evidence of this is lacking in every parish where poor scholars were maintained, but girls are mentioned as poor scholars in MS. Aberdour K.S. Accounts, 11/6/1661, 22/4/1662, 18/4/1669; in MS. Monimail K.S. (in P.R.) 9/6/1661 & 12/7/1674; in MS. Kennoway K.S. 22/4/1664 to 25/2/1666; in MS. Forgan K.S. 19/7/1696; in MS. Kilrenny K.S. (in P.R.) 23/9/1677; in MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 28/6/1696. In every case they were paid for at the prevailing rate for poor boys. In addition, in no single instance where the Registers and accounts of the Kirk Sessions have survived, is there any reference to different scales for boys and girls.

parents and authorities did not strive as officiously as they might to keep girls at school. (1)

The curriculum in those years was little, if any different from what it had been since the beginning of the century. Latin was the main subject in the Grammar, or Burgh, Schools, as we have seen; but English (i.e. reading and writing) was not unknown there; and in some at least of the parish schools the higher subject would be taught. (2) In some parishes the schoolmasters were quite unfit for that (Dick of Ballingry, for example) but a high proportion were graduates, (3) and quite capable of taking their best pupils well up in classical authors. There was nothing new in this, of course. But one subject, Arithmetic, which, as we have seen, was not at all widely taught before 1660, became firmly established in the years before 1700. We have seen the references to it in Kirkcaldy in 1674; it was almost certainly being taught in Auchtertool just after 1680; (4) and by the turn of the century the power to teach not only "print and writing" but also arithmetic had become essential to the parochial schoolmaster. (5) In particular, schoolmasters in the coastal towns, such as Pittenweem, were expected to have arithmetical skill. Mr. William Cannaries "present schoolmaster of Anster Easter", who was appointed to Pittenweem in 1684, was "well skilled in

1. But note, however, that on the only recorded occasion when a schoolmaster was paid for going outside the parish to purchase a book for a "poor scholar", the poor scholar was a girl - Catherine Messan of Monimail. MS. Monimail K.S. (in P.R.) 19/7/1674. 2. e.g. in Markinch, Mr. Geo Ramsay, who taught there from 1687 at the latest, told the Presbytery in 1704 that he taught "Disputer's (i.e. Despauter's) Grammar, and among other authors Ovid, Virgil, Horace, Erasmus (the Colloquies), Sallust, and Buchanan. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 21/6/1704. To be "grossly ignorant of the grammar" was given as a good reason (it was probably not the real reason) for discharging the schoolmaster of Saline in 1695. MS. Kirkcaldy & Dunfermline Pres. 11/12/1695. 3. See Appendix under various parishes. 4. The schoolmaster who told the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy in 1703 that he taught arithmetic had been appointed before 1684. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 23/6/1703 & Appendix, Auchtertool. 5. See, for example, MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 21/12/1709.

Arithmetick". (1) At a Presbyterial visitation in 1700, some of the Elders complained that though their schoolmaster, Mr. David Starck, was "diligent and painfull and sufficiently qualified for teaching the grammar, ... he had not a good hand of write and that he did not teach arithmetick which was very necessary for the youth in that place". (Starck promised that the deficiency would be supplied shortly - "he had one coming to him, who had both skill in Arithmetick, and a good hand of write"). (2) But it is noteworthy that as late as 1716 the newly appointed Music Master (who taught the "English school") of Dunfermline had to confess his inability to teach this subject. (3)

We do not know what books were used for teaching Arithmetic - no poor scholar was ever recorded as receiving an Arithmetic book from the parish. Poor scholars, however, were given Catechisms, (4) New Testaments, (5) and (this certainly after the re-establishment of Presbyterianism) Psalm Books. (6) From these would be taught not only religion but also reading. (7)

It is unnecessary to add anything here to what has been said about the length of the school day, and the length - or rather shortness - of school holidays. The Kirkcaldy rules of 1665 quoted above and the Kennoway rules of 1695, to be quoted below, show that a school day lasting from 6 or 7 a.m. until 6 p.m. was usual. The "ordinary days" of play, and the summer - or harvest - break, in the first half of the seventeenth century, have already been dealt with, and there is no evidence to indicate that they were any different in the second half. In Dunbog, for example, in June 1672

1. MS. Pittenweem K.S. 24/6/1684. 2. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 12/4/1700.
3. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 18/9/1716. 4. MS. Dunbog K.S. 10/10/1669 - "2/- to buy 3 cateches for 3 poore scholars". 5. MS. Forgan K.S. 8/3/1696.
6. Ibid 19/7/1696. 7. Note, in MS. Aberdour K.S. 6/7/1697 - "no woman to teach male children ... further than the Catechism".

the Session considered whether the school should "enter" before harvest; when they enquired of the parishioners if there were "any number of children who could be spared from the fields" the answer was "none". (1) Ten and eleven years later the school was "taken up" in mid October. (2)

General supervision of the standard of teaching and discipline, it is safe to assume, was exercised over schools, burgh and parochial alike, by Presbyterian visitations of the parish. (3) Unfortunately, all the accounts of visitations between 1664 and 1695 that have survived dismiss the school in a few words. One visitation from 1661, however, is very interesting, showing as it does that occasionally the Kirk Session complained of oversoft discipline. When the Presbytery of Dunfermline visited Beath, "the minister and elders regreatt that their schoolmaster is too gentle in correcting the children whilk they alledge to be ane ground of the said children their not proficiencie in learning. Bot approves him in that he has ane sufficient good hand in wreatting and in taking up the psalme and declares that he attends well upone the school and is painfull much". (4) In addition to the Presbyterian Visitations, it is possible that, as in the burghs, the schoolmaster had to undergo a closer and more regular scrutiny when the Kirk Session visited his school and examined his pupils. Only in one parish outwith the burghs, however, do we have clear evidence that this happened. In Kennoway "the heritours, elders and others concerned" comprised the examining body on one occasion. (5) Another time, it was the

1. MS. Dunbog K.S. 16/6/1672 & 30/6/1672. 2. Ibid 8/10/1682 - "school to be taken up 16th October"; 7/10/1683 - "school to be taken up 20th October". 3. For example, at the Visitation of Kirkcaldy by the Kirkcaldy Pres. in 1676 MS. Kirkcaldy K.S. 9/8/1676 (quoted in part by J. Campbell, "Church & Parish of Kirkcaldy", pp.94,95) the Pres. asked "whether the schoolmaster ... was diligent in his vocation". 4. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 10/7/1661. 5. MS. Kennoway K.S. 10/12/1671. On 15/12/1671 - "the school was visited". See also 30/12/1694 & 2/1/1695 (quoted below).

minister and elders who tried "the schollers reading and wreatig", and who were "well satisfied theirwith and with the way of instructing them". (1) Such supervision was in addition to that of the schoolmaster's neighbours and of the parents of the children he taught. These might be exhorted to come "and declare if they had any complaints to give in aganst the school-master" (as in Kennoway in 1695); (2) but such exhortations were hardly necessary in a society where denunciation of a neighbour's shortcomings had become part of one's christian duty.

How many children were exposed to the slightly enlarged curriculum of those years, and how long the average boy or girl remained at school, are difficult questions to answer. Since it is highly probable that the number of parishes provided with parish schools was higher in the 30 years after than in the 30 years before 1660, it was no doubt easier for the conscientious parent to put his child to school for a few years. But one school in every parish would have been quite insufficient to allow of universal education. In 1653 Torryburn, which had a population of some 1600, (3) required four schools - one parochial and three adventure; (4) and in 1704 the minister of Markinch calculated that his parish required six schools if every child was to have a modicum of education. (5) Clearly, adventure schoolmasters and schoolmistresses played a very important part in making education available; but the uncertainty concerning their number prevents any firm conclusions on the number of children who were taught to read and write.

1. MS. Kennoway K.S. 22/2/1667. 2. Ibid 2/1/1695. 3. In 1755 it was, according to Webster's calculation, 1635; and the growth of population in the 100 years before that date was slow. 4. MS. Torryburn K.S. (in P.R.) 30/10/1653. "The bairnes were indifferent well convened to the number of above 100". 5. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 1/6/1704.

Our second question - concerning the length of the ordinary pupil's school-life at that time - has already been answered as fully as the evidence permits; for there is no reason to believe that children spent a longer or a shorter period in school than in the years before 1660. For the great majority, school leaving age, we can be sure, was the age at which they could read their Bibles, and no later. (1) The entrance age for Burgh or Grammar Schools was seven or eight; (2) for the parish schools and adventure schools, two or three years younger. It is interesting to note - though the figures cannot be accepted as indicating a general practice - that the four poor children maintained on Wood's Mortification at the school in Newburn entered at the age of seven and remained to the age of fifteen. (3)

It is not surprising, in view of all we have learned, that the ideal of a literate adult population was not realised in that generation. But one project - whether it became more than that is uncertain - foreshadowed a much later attack on ignorance from the other - the adult - end. The Kirk Session of Ferry Port on Craig did not resign itself to leaving those who had reached manhood and womanhood without schooling in the darkness of illiteracy. In 1697, at the beginning of a new age, (4) the minister decided that since there were "several families in the parish, not one of which can read" something would have to be done. At least one of the family was to be taught to read. Moreover, when in future couples gave in their names to be contracted in marriage, they were to be tried in reading; if neither could read, the wedding was to be delayed until one had "set about learning" and given security he would learn to read the Scriptures. (5)

1. In the following century, in the parish of Wemyss, poor scholars who could read their Bibles were taken off the Session's list. MS. Wemyss K.S. 27/6/1712
2. See above pp.96 & 175. 3. Wood - "East Neuk of Fife" p.90. 4. i.e. in the first year after the passing of the Education Act of 1696. 5. MS. Ferry K.S. (in P.R.) 2/7/1697.

The parochial schoolmaster of that era was very much the same kind of person as his predecessor of the early half of the century. Like him, he was often a graduate; like him he was not infrequently a student of divinity; (1) and like him he was a pluralist - without exception every parish schoolmaster was also (unless he were deprived of the ecclesiastical appointment for some misdemeanour) (2) session clerk and precentor. One, but as far as we know, only one, was also the parish gravedigger. (3) Two at least were notaries public: Mr. Thrift of Auchtertool and Mr. Kid of Ferry Port on Craig. (4) Like his predecessor, he might fall on evil days, or leave a widow to be supported by the parish. (5) But unlike his predecessors, and like his colleagues in the burgh schools, he is beginning to move further afield in search of posts. Mr. Robert Wilson came from within Dalkeith Presbytery to become schoolmaster of Dalgety; (6) Mr. Thomas Blair came from Loch Maben to Wemyss; (7) and Mr. Robert Morum came from Angus to officiate in Dunbog. (8)

1. See Appendix, under parishes.
2. e.g. Orme of Dairsie, for slandering two women. MS. Dairsie K.S. 12/6/1670.
3. Dick of Ballingry, the 'domine' - see above, p.212.
4. Stevenson, "Kirk and Parish of Auchtertool", p.117, and MS. Ferry K.S. (in P.R.) 4/5/1697.
5. "to Mr Mitchell, sometime schoolmaster of Weymes" - MS. Kennoway K.S. Cash Book, 1671; "6s8d to a poor schoolmaster" MS. Dunbog K.S. 23/7/1671 and 2/6/1672 (6s); "an old schoolmaster 13s.4d" MS. Newburn K.S. (in P.R.) 4/2/1667; "Mr Stark poor schoolmaster £1.4s" MS. Falkland K.S. (in P.R.) 8/8/1697; and "to the late schoolmasters widow..." MS. Kennoway K.S. 9/9/1667. When it is remembered how incomplete the records are, this is a sadly long list.
6. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 24/7/1661.
7. MS. Wemyss K.S. 24/8/1679.
8. MS. Dunbog K.S. 26/5/1672 & 16/6/1672.

Many - probably most - of these parish schoolmasters must have been excellent men, working hard for a poor financial reward, never slandering their neighbours (unlike the schoolmaster of Dairsie) (1), never quarrelling with their ministers (unlike the schoolmaster of Scoonie) (2); one, at least, so anxious to further the education of his countrymen that he left a legacy to help the good cause. (3)

But there were others less admirable in their behaviour, and perhaps the more interesting to read of for that. Two in particular come to mind. Of the two, Mr. John Kid had the longer run. He entered as schoolmaster in Ferry Port on Craig in 1674, was deprived before 1676 (we can guess why), restored to his office on promise of good behaviour in 1678, (4) and held it until 1698. Those years were not easy for him: poverty was his constant lot. On one occasion he was granted £3 from the £20 which the Archbishop had sent to the Kirk Session for the relief of the poor. (5) On another he had to appeal to the Session for a loan "to pay the Doctors who (had) bein long dealling with him". (6) But at last his behaviour was too much even for a charitable Kirk Session. Accused before them of swearing, drunkenness, and neglecting his school duties, he confessed "he sometimes swear in his wrath; his poverty and his place as Notter public was a snare to him, and occasioned him being late and air in Ailhouses". For the moment he escaped with a rebuke; but a year later he was dismissed (7) - presumably because his behaviour showed no improvement. (8)

1. MS. Dairsie K.S. 12/6/1670. 2. MS. Scoonie K.S. 17/5/1696.

3. e.g. Mill - of Kennoway - MS. Kennoway K.S. 28/8/1709.

4. MS. Ferry K.S. (in P.R.) 26/7/1674; 6/8/1676; 14/7/1678. 5. Ibid 17/1/1676.

6. Ibid 9/5/1686. The Session gave him £20 "not making a lenning of it".

7. Ibid 4/5/1697. 8. Ibid 20/2/1698.

The second schoolmaster, Mr. Robert Wilson of Kennoway, transgressed along somewhat different lines. Our interest in him is that his failure to satisfy the Heritors and Kirk Session led to the formulation of regulations for the school which, apart from certain obvious ad hoc clauses, were most probably those (whether formally set out or not) to which parochial schoolmasters worked. "The minister did in the face of the Session in the presence of the Heritors and masters of families take account of the Schollers proficiency and examined them and Inquired of them concerning the schoolmaster's carriage discipline and attendance who declared that Mr Robert Wilson Schoolmaster was frequently absent from them whole dayes and half dayes. The masters of families being called delated Mr Wilson as guilty of negligence alleadging that he spent much of his time he should attend the school, in hunting, hawking and fowling and did extrude the children at his pleasure and was immoderat in his discipline." Having confessed his faults, he was rebuked before the Session. Then the Session "with consent of the Heritors present" laid down these rules for the governing of the school:-

- "1st That the schoolmaster present or any who succeeds to him shall not extrude any scholar out of the school (except for two days only) untill the ground be Examined by the Session, without the special advice at least of the Minister and of the Session if the differences can no otherwise be removed.
- 2nd That no schoolmaster in office shall spend their time in hunting and Gunning, that they are oblidge to attend on the School, that is, betwixt six of the cloack in the morning and six at night, except what time they are necessarily taken up in eating and drinking and other necessary affairs.

- 3rd They appoint the schoolmaster to teach his Schoolars the Assemblies Shorter Catechism, and to cause them every Lord's Day read and repeat a pairt of them in the Church betwixt the second and third Bells both fore and afternoon, and to attend punctually himself with them, and that this be not slighted in time coming under the pain of censure.
- 4th That the Schoolmaster in office shall in all time coming pray with his children Twice every day at least evening and morning and praise God by singing a psalme and read a certain portion of Scripture.
- 5th That no Schoolmaster in office shall spend his tyme in tavernes when he is bound to wait upon the School, and that he shall forbear to keep company with profane or vain loose livers drunkards or swearers, or such as are vitious. (sic)
- 6th That the Schoolmaster shall not absent himself a day nor half a day from the School unless he acquaint the Minister therewith and he think that his reasons are relevant and that he shall not give his Schoolars a vaccancie without the special allowance of the Session." (1)

1. MS. Kennoway K.S. 2/1/1695. These rules were evidently too much for Mr. Wilson: "Mr Robert Wilson having gon away and deserted his place" ... Ibid 15/1/1695.

FIFE SCHOOLS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The century and a half we have just surveyed was a period of sudden changes in the law affecting education, of dramatic reversals of economic conditions, of revolutions in Church and State. In marked contrast the eighteenth century schoolmaster's legal position did not alter from 1696 to 1803; he lived in a society which (particularly perhaps in Fife) was slowly but steadily increasing in material prosperity; and though he might be affected by schisms in the Kirk and by the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, after 1720 or thereabouts he was not called upon, as his predecessors had been, to disown the church and the form of government under which he had spent most of his life.

In 1696 Parliament enacted anew that a school should be established and a schoolmaster appointed in every parish "by advice of the heritors and minister of the parish": the heritors were to provide a "commodious house" for the school, and a salary of at least 100 merks (£5.11s.1¹/₃d) and not more than 200 merks (£11.2s.2²/₃d). If the Heritors refused to do their duty, the Commissioners of the Shire were empowered, on the application of the Presbyteries, to establish a school and stent the heritors for a salary. (1)

The background against which heritors and town councils attempted with greater or less diligence to maintain schools must be lightly sketched in. The disastrous effects of the Civil Wars on the merchants and shipowners of Fife have already been described; and the Dutch Wars, and later the Union of the Parliaments retarded any improvement of trade. The herring shoals had ceased to visit the Forth, where as many as 168 fishing

1. Acts. Parl. Scot., X, 63, c.26 (1696). Note that hereafter salaries, fees, prices etc. will be given in sterling.

vessels had been sent out from a strip of coast only 12 miles long, and "the deep sea fishery of Fife was involved in the havoc wrought by the civil war". (1) An expatriated Scotsman, who traversed the Fife coast in 1723, described its towns, Kirkcaldy excepted, as mere "heaps of decay"; and in 1760 the shipping of Kirkcaldy had dwindled to one coasting vessel and two ferry boats. Pennant, in 1772, found St. Andrews 'greatly reduced'. Once there had been sixty or seventy bakers in the town - now there were but nine or ten; only one vessel "of any size" belonged to the port; and manufactures were represented by 'several people' making golf balls. (2) Only one illustration of the effect of this depression on the schools of these coastal burghs need be given here; in 1710 Burntisland owed its schoolmaster £88.11s.7½d, or fully eight years' salary - a debt which was not paid off until 1723. (3)

By 1750 or thereabouts, however, even the coastal burghs were beginning to recover. New collieries and saltworks were opened in Pittenweem, and a new harbour was built. "In 1764 shipbuilding was begun at Dysart, and before the end of the century both Dysart and Kirkcaldy had developed so large a foreign trade that the shipping of each amounted to 4,000 tons". (4) And an expanding linen industry had, before then, provided some compensation for the loss of trade. "Kirkcaldy, when its shipping declined, applied itself to the manufacture of bed ticks; Wemyss excelled in the use for this purpose of homegrown flax; and in all the Fife

1. Law Mathieson, "The Awakening of Scotland", (Glasgow 1910) p.256.
2. Ibid, p.258. cf. William Douglass, "Some Historical Remarks on the City of St.Andrews" (London, 1728) pp. 8 & 9. "There remain in the other 3 streets only 945 houses and of these 159 are become ruinous ... and many of the others are much out of repair ..." "The number of inhabitants is above 4,000, many idle and half starved." 3. MS. Burntisland B.R. 19/6/1710 & 1/4/1723.
4. Law Mathieson, op.cit. p.259.

ports the spinning wheel made some amends for vanished commerce and truant herring". (1) By 1791 between 3,000 and 4,000 workers were employed in Dysart in the manufacture of linen. (2) The linen industry, of course, was not confined to the coastal burghs. Dunfermline, where the manufacture had been introduced in 1718, soon acquired a great reputation for damask; by 1793 there were 223 looms in Cupar, and 138 in the parish of Ceres, to mention only two places; (3) and in 1782 the total linen production of Fife was valued at over £90,000. (4) Two quotations from the Old Statistical Account indicate what this meant for the diffusion of wealth in the county. "The cause of this sudden rise of wages (for a manservant) is the manufactures", wrote the minister of Auchtertool. In Auchtermuchty "a journeyman works nine spindles a week, at 1s a spindle". Moreover, Fife was, by the 'nineties, one of the principal producers of flax - a crop which yielded a larger return per acre than any other. (5)

In addition to progress in manufactures, there was, in the second half of the century, rapid improvement in agriculture. Planting, enclosing, the introduction of the new plough, the spread of the potato, and the improvement of the breed of cattle were all making life easier, though even at the end of the century there was much to do. (6)

1. Law Mathieson, op.cit. p.265. 2. O.S.A. Dysart. 3. O.S.A. Newburgh had 270 weavers out of a population of 1664; Monimail 35. 4. H.Hamilton, "Industrial Revolution in Scotland" (Clarendon Press, 1932) p.91. 5. Ibid, p.95. 6. Almost every parish report in the O.S.A. illustrates this. "The farmers in general wealthy, industrious and active; they improve and cultivate their lands ... farms not all yet enclosed" - Inverkeithing; "Plough generally the light English plough" - Culross; "Four fifths of arable land have been inclosed" - Carnock; "Planting & inclosing have been practised a little" - Saline; "All lands inclosed" - Torryburn; "A little planting", "stile of farming carried on after new plan of husbandry" - Auchtertool; "Distinction between infield and outfield going away" - Dysart; "Great improvement in husbandry" - Kirkcaldy; "Ploughs now generally 2 horses" - Scoonie; "Much planting. Quantity of wheat 10 times what it was 40 years ago" - Ceres; "Horses and black cattle much improved" - Cullis; "Only one flock of sheep, of a pretty large size,

"The useless marsh and the deceitful bog", as the minister of Largo put it, were going. The results can again best be illustrated by three quotations from the Statistical Account. The village of Leuchars "in place of being literally the village built with turfs, is become a neat country village, built with stones and mortar"; "Upwards of one third of the town (of Cupar) has been rebuilt these 25 year"; and this, from Cults, "crops failed so much in 1782, that had potatoes been unknown, and importation of grain as little practised, as in the end of the last century, there would have been as great a famine as in the former period".

This improvement in conditions was accompanied by (and in part caused) a considerable rise in prices and (for nearly everybody but the schoolmaster) in wages and salaries. Between 1750 and 1790 prices doubled; and the day labourer who had 5d per day in 1750 had 9d, 10d, or 1s 40 years later; the master wright received 1s.3d or 1s.6d where he had received 1s. (1) From the beginning of the century wages (and the price of provisions) had risen even more. "In 1695 the wages of a serving man were £20 Scots per annum. In 1768 they were £4-6 sterling. The present (1793) wages are £6 to £7 sterling per annum". (2)

With the increase in wealth went an increase in population (and therefore an increase in the number of children who required schooling) between 1755 and 1801 (and, it is safe to assume, an even greater increase

brought hither from southern parts of Scotland" - Dunbog; "Nearly two-thirds inclosed" - Carnbee; "The Earl of Balcarres introduced the field turnip into his plan of farming about 40 years ago" - Kilconquhar; "Fifteen years ago, only plough here was the old Scots plough" - St. Monance.

1. O.S.A. Monimail. See also O.S.A. Culross, Dunfermline, Kinghorn, Kinglassie. ("Price of all provisions doubled these 20 years" - Logie; but "Prices risen 1/3 in 20 years", Anstruther Wester.) These 1793 prices are worth keeping in mind - Beef, veal, mutton, 4d to 5d lb; eggs 4d to 6d a doz. O.S.A. passim. 2. i.e. Wages had trebled or quadrupled between 1695 and 1793. O.S.A. Anstruther Wester.

between 1700 and 1801). In 1755, Webster calculated, there were 81,570 people in Fife; (1) in 1801, there were 93,743. These figures, however, conceal considerable variations in the fortunes of the different parishes. The population of Dunfermline parish had risen by 1,000, that of Cupar by 1,500, and that of Markinch by over 600, between 1755 and the end of the century; while the populations of St. Andrews and Kinghorn had been reduced by some 600 each, that of Crail by some 400, and that of Beath, which had over 1,000 in 1755, by about 500. (2) Furthermore, though it would be too sweeping to say that in the last 40 years of the century all the large towns and villages were becoming larger, and the small were becoming smaller, in very many cases that was the tendency. We can see too the beginning of rural depopulation; where no new industries were introduced, the "improving" movement, which in itself made life easier for the bulk of the population, was responsible here and there for a shift in population away from the countryside: in Cameron, for example, "many inclosures reduce the population", and in Saline "the decrease (of population) is due to the removal of cottars".(3) Our interest in this movement lies, of course, in the fact that the schools were organised on a parochial basis; and as population drained off from some places and congregated in pools in others, the whole system was subjected to increasing strain.

Among the first tasks which the Presbyteries set themselves after 1690 was the removal of all disaffected schoolmasters, and the "screening" of all new candidates for posts in the schools, so that no one whose adherence to "the new principles of the true Reformed Religion" was not manifest should be permitted to endanger the children committed to his care. The first part

1. Population of Scotland, (S.H.S. 1952) Appendix, p.82.

2. O.S.A. & N.S.A., under parishes. 3. O.S.A., Cameron & Saline.

of the Presbyteries' task was not completed for some time after 1696. In 1700 the General Assembly instructed all Presbyteries to "oblige all schoolmasters, chaplains, governors and pedagogues of youth within their respective bounds ... to subscribe the Confession of Faith". (1) In Cupar Presbytery all the established schoolmasters had signed by May 1701, though some persuasion was necessary before the burgh schoolmaster of Falkland could overcome his scruples. (2) Only three of the established schoolmasters in Dunfermline Presbytery had failed to sign by August 1701, and they, it is to be presumed, signed soon after. (3) In Kirkcaldy, which was to show a considerable measure of disaffection later, the process took longer, and it was not until 1707 that the Presbytery was able to say that all its schoolmasters had signed. (4)

Having purified the schools, the Presbyteries' next task was to keep them pure. Heritors and Magistrates, in theory, could admit only schoolmasters who had been examined by the Presbytery in their "literature and religion" and had signed the Confession of Faith. No parochial schoolmaster, as far as we know, was admitted without qualifying in this way. But two Town Councils showed very early in the century that they were not in complete sympathy with the claims of the Kirk. When in 1705 the Magistrates of Dunfermline, who had requested two members of the Presbytery to examine their chosen candidate "in his literature" only, were asked "whether or not, if the presbytery should appoint some of their number to examine that person about his orthodoxy and his qualifications ... they would agree that the presbyteries examination and approbation should precede his being settled ... they declined to give a profitable answer". Asked further if, after the

1. Acts of Assembly, 15/2/1700. 2. MS. Cupar Pres. 20/5/1701 & 6/8/1700, 10/12/1700. 3. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 7/8/1700. Nothing more is heard of the three schoolmasters. 4. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 13/11/1707.

schoolmaster had been settled, the Presbytery found that he was "not orthodox", the Magistrates would "turn him out", they refused to answer. (1) In spite of this unsatisfactory attitude, the Presbytery examined Mr. Graham, the candidate, and "found him tollerably well qualified for teaching Latine, though they found his qualifications somewhat short of what was promised in his recommendations". Graham's orthodoxy was not however too clear. He "owned the profession of faith ... and presbyterian government to be of Divine right", but he would not promise to "keep in communion with the Presbyterian Ministers" and desert his old Minister "in regard he was his good friend and benefactor". Thereupon the Presbytery, finding that they had "no security of his instructing the youth faithfully in the principles of the reformed religion" refused to approve of his appointment. Graham then agreed that he would hear not only his former minister but "any Presbyterian Minister that shall preach in this place"; and on the urging of the Town Council, the Presbytery agreed to accept this, and permitted him to sign the Confession of Faith and enter his post. (2)

The struggle between Mr. James Guthrie, schoolmaster of Burntisland, and the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy was fiercer than this. In June 1713 he was haled before the Presbytery, asked why he had disobeyed the Presbytery's order to cease precenting in the parish church - to which he replied that "he could not decline precenting least the people had taken him to task" - and if he would subscribe the Confession of Faith. "Yes, as vinculum paris, in obedience to law. Will he subscribe it as the Confession of his Faith? There are many articles in it that he cannot comprehend, but he will subscribe as aforesaid". (3) On the next Presbytery day Guthrie

1. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 24/10/1705. 2. Ibid 5/12/1705.
3. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 21/6/1713.

admitted that he still continued to present. He could not desist, he said, "unless he disoblige his best friends and patrons that brought him to the place". Furthermore, he did not reckon himself to be under the inspection of the Presbytery as a schoolmaster. He owned "the Magistrates and Town Council and Heritors to be his sole patrons, and as to his being Session Clerk and Precentor, these offices (were) annexed to that of schoolmaster". As to signing the Confession of Faith, he would still only sign it, not as his confession of his faith, but "in obedience to law". The Presbytery could hardly refuse this challenge; Guthrie was deposed forthwith as Session Clerk and Precentor, (1) and two years later, after an appeal to the Synod, as schoolmaster, "because he contemned the authority of the Presbytery, refused to sign the Confession of Faith, had received Episcopal orders, and did not practise and conform himself to the worship presently in use in the Church". (2) But the Magistrates showed no eagerness to obey the Presbytery's act of deposition, in spite of repeated urgings. In September 1715 the Justices, it was reported, "were throng with other matters" and had not yet deposed Mr. Guthrie. (3) For almost a year longer he was permitted to teach in the burgh school; and it was not until he was caught up in Mar's rebellion, and fled the town, that he ceased to be burgh schoolmaster. (4)

The two Jacobite rebellions, of course, stirred the Presbyteries to renewed activity against disaffected schoolmasters. In 1715 and again in 1745 the county was invaded and for a period in the grip of the rebels; and during the occupations a number of schoolmasters compromised themselves. When the authority of the Government was re-established, their behaviour was not overlooked. After the Fifteen, four schoolmasters in the bounds of Kirkcaldy

1. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 9/7/1713. 2. Ibid 26/5/1715. 3. Ibid 20/9/1715.
4. Ibid 9/8/1716 & 6/9/1716.

Presbytery (including Mr. Guthrie of Burntisland) were examined and fled or were deposed; two from Cupar Presbytery lost their posts; and of three from St. Andrews Presbytery who were tried, one was deposed and two were rebuked. (1)

The examinations of two of these schoolmasters by the Presbytery are very revealing. When Mr. Jack, schoolmaster of Kinghorn, was charged with publicly reading Mar's orders in the Kirk of Kinghorn, he declared that "the first order came to him while he was in the Kirk of Kinghorn, and the highlanders being about him he read the same. The second paper that came to him - he refused it on the Saturday And that it was again presented to him on the Sabbath with threatnings and after he had read some lines thereof it dropt out his hand. The third paper that came to his hand for meal to their garison at Bruntisland, he read the same after they had deserted that place, not knowing that the highland men were gone ... and he never read any papers in church without adviseing with Mr Lyon and having his desire and approbation". (2) To the further question "why did he so tamelie sitt in the Kirk and hear Mr Lyon pray for the pretender?" he answered "Alas, what could I do?" Nevertheless, he was deposed. (3)

Mr. John Dick, schoolmaster at Dunino, was more fortunate. The Kirk Session examined him in February 1719 "on his reading of Mar's Proclamation" and he made most humble confession. "Nothing had grieved him so much. He was grieved that the Lord who had kept him straight in the days of

1. Mr. Jack, burgh schoolmaster of Kinghorn - deposed. MS. Kirkealdy Pres. 10/7/1717; Mr. Craigie, Auchtertool, "is gone", Ibid 9/8/1716; Mr. John Lindsay, Scoonie, deposed, Ibid 8/8/1717. In Cupar Presbytery, the schoolmaster of Logie "had left place", MS. Cupar Pres. 24/4/1716; Mr. Knox of Falkland, demitted, under pressure, Ibid 22/5/1717. In St. Andrews Presbytery, Mr. R. Wilson of Kilrennie, deposed, MS. St. Andrews Pres. 24/10/1716; Mr. Methven, Anstruther Easter, rebuked, Ibid 26/3/1718; Mr. Dick, Dunino, rebuked, Ibid 18/3/1719. 2. Mr. Lyon was the minister of Kinghorn. 3. MS. Kirkealdy Pres. 27/3/1716 & 10/7/1717.

Prelacy should have now left him in his old age to have fallen so foully, and that it hath so grieved him that he had never his health since but still worse and worse and now he thinks it will bring down his gray hairs to the grave with sorrow". The Session was convinced of his sorrow, and the Presbytery permitted him to keep his school. (1)

The aftermath of the 'Fortyfife was less serious for the schools. Only one teacher, Mr. McFarlane, schooldoctor of Kinghorn, was deposed for associating with the rebels. (2)

Between 1750 and 1790 the Presbyteries' zealous care for the orthodoxy and political trustworthiness of the public schoolmasters seems to have ebbed. Once the Presbytery of Dunfermline moved; in 1779 they tried to depose the Rector of Dunfermline Grammar School because he, as a member of the Kirk of Relief, refused to sign the Confession of Faith. But although his case was submitted to the General Assembly, the Assembly, on the advice of their law officer, refused to support the Presbytery, and he was left in undisturbed possession of his post. (3)

Towards the end of the century, however, the Presbyteries were once more busily engaged in ridding the schools - public and private - of all whose adherence to the Government was not stated in clear terms. A "culpably obsequious clergy" shared the panic of the governing classes at the possible effects of the French Revolution on their parishioners. (4) The General

1. MS. St.Andrews Pres. 18/3/1719. 2. Grant, p.275, quoting the Burgh Records. The volume from which he quoted has since disappeared. On 22/2/1744 the Kirk Session of Kinghorn agreed that Alex McFarlane, Schooldoctor "shall continue from year to year at their pleasure". 3. MS.Dunfermline Pres. 15/6/1777 & 7/4/1779 & Appendix, Dunfermline Schoolmasters, & MS. Gen.Assembly Minutes, Vol. 1779-81, pp.208 ff. 4. H. Meikle - "Scotland and the French Revolution", (Glasgow, 1912) pp. 194-203.

Assembly ordered that all parish schools should be visited and the schoolmasters examined; in 1798 it ordered that all teachers, parochial and adventure, should be reported on by the Presbyteries. The Presbyteries of Fife showed a vigour which had not been evinced for years in educational matters: sub-committees of the brethren visited all the parochial schools in Cupar, Dunfermline, and Kirkcaldy, (and Probably in St. Andrews too); (1) and later, lists of all private teachers in the bounds were compiled, the private teachers were cited to the Presbytery, and required to sign the Confession of Faith and show that they were "qualified to the Government". (2) A number of private teachers, mostly in the Presbytery of Cupar, failed to pass the Presbyteries' tests. In that Presbytery on one day 51 private teachers were summoned to examination, 33 were absent, 8 were approved (and on signing the Confession of Faith were granted certificates of competence and orthodoxy) and 10 were "disapproved of". (3) At least one private schoolmaster in St. Andrews Presbytery, Thomas Taylor of Forgan, was ordered to close his school: although he was "qualified to the Government", as a dissenter who refused to accept the jurisdiction of the Presbytery he was pronounced unqualified to teach, (4) and so could not register his school with the Sheriff. (5) And at least one parochial schoolmaster came very near dismissal for the crime of "holding Sunday Schools together with the Dissenting Clergyman at Rathilet in (Kilmany)

1. MS. Cupar Pres. 31/3/1795 & 5/5/1795; MS. Dunfermline Pres. 2/12/1794 to 29/9/1795 passim; MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 3/12/1794. There is however no minute to this effect in St. Andrews Presbytery. Visitations of schools from 1770 to 1795 are conspicuously rare in all Presbyteries. MS. Presbyteries Cupar etc. - 1770 to 1795 passim. 2. MS. Cupar Pres. 7/5/1799, 1/10/1799 & 22/10/1799; MS. Dunfermline Pres. 3/9/1799 to 3/3/1801 passim; MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 23/7/1800, 2/12/1801; MS. St. Andrews Pres. 30/4/1800. 3. MS. Cupar Pres. 22/10/1799. 4. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 4/5/1803; 28/9/1803. 5. "The Committee that waited on the Depute Sheriff reported he would allow no Teacher to have his school Registered ... till he produced to him an approbation from the Presbytery". MS. Cupar Pres. 1/10/1799.

Parish, and that after frequent admonitions", and escaped (with a sharp rebuke) only by engaging to "desist from such a Conduct, if the Presbytery require him so to do". (1)

Luckily for the youth of the county the Presbyteries' educational activities were not at all destructive in the eighteenth century; for whatever the need for their supervision was before 1700, after 1700 their vigorous intervention was required again and again to rouse unwilling heritors to a sense of their duties. The Kirk Session might be dominated or browbeaten by the local heritors; the Presbytery was not to be so dealt with; and if the heritors fell back on procrastination as their last weapon, the Commissioners of Supply for the shire could be (and were) appealed to.

As in the previous century, the main duties of each Presbytery were to see that schools were established and maintained, that legal salaries were provided, that properly qualified men were appointed to the parochial and burgh schools, and that school buildings were erected and kept in good repair. And as before, each Presbytery tried to ensure, by Presbyterial visitations and on occasion by examinations of the schools, that the public schoolmasters were kept up to the mark, moral and intellectual, and that "the bairns profited". Furthermore, they had a new duty laid upon them - that of stirring up Kirk Sessions to establish "English schools", (2) in addition to the parochial school, in "commodious parishes" where a substantial number of children were over distant from the public school.

In their first task of seeing that every parish had its schoolmaster, the Presbyteries were reasonably successful. By 1700 only five parishes (Abbotshall, Cameron, Cults, Kemback and Moonzie) were not certainly

1. MS. Cupar Pres. 7/5/1799 & 9/7/1799. 2. i.e. Schools where there was instruction in reading and writing English - and with this generally some arithmetic.

supplied; and it is probable that Cults and Kemback were in fact possessed of schoolmasters. (1) Cults had a schoolmaster in 1704, Kemback one before 1708; (2) and Cameron, which had neither "a legal schoolmaster nor a salary for one" in July 1709, had "fully satisfied" their session clerk who acted as schoolmaster, in August 1709. (3) Moonzie, it seems, had a schoolmaster in 1707, but had "no legal maintenance for him"; (4) and it was not until 1712, by which time the parish was without a school, that the heritors could be made to agree to a salary; and even then they gave much less than the law allowed. (5) Even more laggard were the heritors of Abbotshall: in 1720 it was reported that there was neither a legal salary nor a schoolmaster appointed by the parish; and only after the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy had taken the case to the Commissioners of Supply, in 1721, was a salary settled. (6)

Of course, as we have seen, the absence of a "legal salary" and the failure of the heritors to appoint a parochial schoolmaster did not necessarily mean that the parish was without a school. The adventure schoolmaster was often available to teach at least "the elements" to those children who could be induced to resort to him. More will be said later about the important part played by "adventurers" in the eighteenth century; but it is worth noticing that in 1709 the Presbytery found and inspected two schools in Abbotshall, and found them satisfactory; (7) and that in the same year the Kirk Session of Cameron reported that they had "several pryvate schools in the parish, one whereof (was) occupied by a man who (was) both their session clerk and precentor, to whom they (gave) such an allowance as they (were) able". (8)

1. See Appendix, under these parishes. 2. Ibid. 3. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 6/7/1709 & 24/8/1709. 4. MS. Cupar Pres. 29/10/1707. 5. Ibid 8/8/1712 & 9/12/1712. 6. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 27/7/1721. 7. Ibid 9/6/1709. 8. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 6/7/1709.

Dilatoriness in "settling" a school or a salary was not the only weapon in the hands of the heritors. Constant vigilance by the Presbytery was necessary to prevent them, even in those parishes where schools had been established or re-established, from obstructing the settlement of a schoolmaster when a vacancy occurred. Auchtertool, it will be remembered, had a school which was taught almost without interruption from 1631 to 1703; and apparently when the parish was visited in the latter year the salary was adequate or at least "legal". (1) None the less it seems there was a vacancy between 1709 and 1712; (2) and we need not seek far for a reason when we learn that in 1719 the Earl of Moray, one of the principal heritors, coolly answered a request for a contribution towards the schoolmaster's salary that "if the tenants stood in need of a schoolmaster, they might provide for one". (3)

The Presbytery of Dunfermline found as hard a nut to crack in Col. Erskine of Carnock; from 1710 to 1713 he successfully prevented the appointment of a schoolmaster in his parish (and later, as we shall see, did his worst to hold up the provision of a schoolhouse). In February, 1711, the parish minister was "recommended" to use all endeavours to have a schoolmaster as soon as possible. (4) But in 1712 the session had to admit that they "wanted a schoolmaster for these two years ... They had a sufficient fund (for a schoolmaster), but the matter was now under much debate". The Presbytery then ordered that Colonel Erskine "be seriously dealt with ... and spoken to in the Presbytery's name". (5) In August, October, and December, 1712, the Presbytery continued to "deal with" Colonel Erskine, without success. (6)

1. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 28/6/1703.
2. Stevenson, Auchtertool, p.121.
3. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 22/10/1719. The Earl of Wemyss, however, would "readily concur in such a pious design".
4. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 7/2/1711.
5. Ibid 30/7/1712.
6. Ibid 27/8/1712; 8/10/1712; 24/12/1712; 25/2/1713.

It was not until the Presbytery threatened "to see to the settlement of a Schoolmaster there in a legal way, in case methods be not fallen on, for an amiable settlement, without further delay" that the Colonel consented to the appointment of a schoolmaster, in May 1713. And even then he would not pay the previously settled salary without protest; and Presbytery and schoolmaster had to take what comfort they could from his statement that he was "content the schoolmaster pursue him and his tenants for the whole salary". (1)

Even where there was a schoolmaster, he did not always keep a school. In 1786 the Torryburn Kirk Session complained that for 15 or 16 months past their school had not been opened by Mr. Campbell, the schoolmaster - the climax to years of neglect of his duties. (2) Worse still was the position in Ceres. From 1779, when Mr. Luke Frazer was appointed schoolmaster, "he never did his Duty as schoolmaster nor fulfilled the other appendages of that office, which are keeper of the Records, and Precentor ..." so that, from about 1790 the heritors and inhabitants had "been obliged to subscribe a Sum of about £14 annually to get a teacher to keep a School in the parish, that the children of the lower classes ... might not go totally without Education". But the subscription school did not flourish - the salary was small, the school fees "but trifling", and "no good man would stay longer in it than he got a better appointment" (3) - and finally it was given up, with the result that in 1802 there was "no school in the parish, excepting Seceders, and the Petitioners (did) not wish their children to attend those schools". (4)

1. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 27/4/1713 & 19/5/1713. One example of a vacancy in a well endowed school in St. Andrews Pres. may be given:- in 1756 it was reported that the parish of Newburn had "no schoolmaster these twelve months past, which was a great loss to the youth". MS. St. Andrews Pres. 4/2/1756.
2. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 29/3/1786. 3. With the result that there were eight masters in ten years. 4. MS. Cupar Pres. 9/2/1802.

It is, however, true to say that these were exceptional cases, as a consideration of all the parishes will show. (1) A harder task than compelling every parish to employ a schoolmaster was compelling every group of heritors to pay him "what the law allowed". Very many of the parishes paid up promptly and fully; but there was a substantial minority which gave schoolmaster, Kirk Session and Presbytery great trouble by paying less-than-legal salaries or no salaries at all. Even as late as mid-century - by which time the rise in prices had reduced the burden on the heritors and made the legal minimum salary much too low - there were a few pockets of resistance in the landward parishes where the heritors carried on delaying actions against the authorities. We need not go into the details of the struggle - more will be said on this matter when we come to deal with the schoolmaster's living in the eighteenth century - but tracing only the broad outline we note that in the Presbytery of Cupar, (which had 19 parishes) after 18 years of prodding, there were "three or four" schoolmasters without "legal maintenance" in 1714. (2) The Commissioners of Supply for the Shire - the final court of appeal - were appealed to by this Presbytery at fairly regular intervals: in 1722 on behalf of the schoolmaster of Strathmiglo; (3) in 1730 on behalf of the schoolmaster of Flisk, who had not been paid for two years; (4) in 1751 on behalf of the schoolmaster of Dairsie; (5) in 1757 on behalf of the schoolmaster of Moonzie; (6) and in 1760 on behalf of the schoolmaster of Cults. (7) The heritors of the six landward parishes of Dunfermline did very much better; but even there one parish schoolmaster was paid only £3.6s.8d as late as 1722. (8) In 1709 at least four of the parochial

1. See Appendix. 2. MS. Cupar Pres. 16/12/1714. 3. Ibid 12/4/1722.
4. Ibid 9/10/1729 (when it was reported he had not been paid for two years),
20/1/1730, & 5/5/1730. 5. Ibid 23/4/1751. Note, moreover, in spite of this,
that two years later his successor was not being paid a "legal salary"! Ibid
24/9/1753. 6. Ibid 1/3/1757. 7. Ibid 9/9/1760. 8. In Beath. MS.
Dunfermline Pres. 2/8/1722.

schoolmasters within the bounds of Kirkcaldy Presbytery had less than the legal minimum salary, and two of them had no salary at all. (1) In 1721 the Presbytery sent the case of Abbotshall to the Commissioners of Supply; (2) and it was not until 1765, two years after the principal heritors had been urgently appealed to, that a "legal salary" was granted to the schoolmaster of Auchtertool. (3) The heritors of St. Andrews Presbytery were little, if any, better. There were "several in the parish (of Pittenweem) who hindered the settlement of a legal salary" it was reported in 1712. (4) In Forgan "some of the heritors refused to make payment" in 1733, (5) and the Presbytery had to appeal to the Commissioners of Supply the following year. (6) Other appeals to the Commissioners of Supply were made on behalf of the schoolmasters of Leuchars (in 1734), of Dunino and of St. Monance (both in 1748), and of Kemback (in 1749). (7)

After 1765 there were no cases, as far as is known, where the Presbytery had to intervene to enforce the payment of the minimum salary laid down by the Act of 1696. Already in 1749 the schoolmasters of the county were more concerned to have the legal salaries revised upwards than to have the existing law enforced, and with that concern the Presbyteries had little direct interest. (8) But their right and duty to examine all presentees to public schoolmasterships continued throughout the century and was taken seriously. And at least one of the Presbyteries failed several of the candidates. In 1699 Mr. Robert Blair was tried for the school of Culross; but, as the Committee of the Presbytery which examined him reported, "considering the importance of

1. Ballingry & Portmoak - no salaries; Auchtertool & Kinglassie - less than minimum. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 5/7/1709; 10/11/1709; 21/12/1709. 2. Ibid 27/3/1721. 3. Ibid 30/3/1763 & 31/7/1765. 4. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 20/8/1712. 5. Ibid 21/11/1733. 6. Ibid 10/7/1734. 7. Ibid 10/7/1734; 19/10/1748; 13/9/1749 & 6/12/1749. 8. MS. Cupar Pres. 26/4/1749 & MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 30/3/1749.

that post ... although they be inclined to encourage the young man, and apprehend that he might be useful in a less considerable post, and under a Minister with whom he were at entire amity; yet as he is nonqualified and as matters stand at present, they judge and determine him unqualified and unfit for being schoolmaster at Culross". (1) We may suspect that it was Mr. Blair's "lack of amity with his minister" rather than his lack of knowledge of the classical authors that debarred him from the post he sought. Such, however, was certainly not the reason for the Presbytery's refusal to accept Mr. Alexander Schaw as schoolmaster of Kinross. (2) "The brethren appointed to examine the literature ... of Mr Alexander Schaw, gave in a report, which the Presbytery considering, likewise his version of a passage in Buchanan's Chronicles, delivered to the Presbytery, as likewise his translation into Latine the first four verses of the first chapter of Luke, ... (did) find ... Mr Schaw not sufficiently qualified for such an eminent post as the school of Kinross". (3)

Once at least a would-be parochial schoolmaster was failed too. In 1745 the Presbytery refused to pass a young man "who had no Latin" for the school of Saline, on the grounds that the schoolmaster there "should be capable to teach the Latin tongue, as in other Grammar Schools", particularly as "at present they had severals in the parish learning Latin, and some advanced to read Horace". (4) But in the overwhelming majority of cases those called by

1. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 1/3/1699. 2. Kinross is of course outside the area we are considering; but, as the Presbytery's account of his examination is fuller than usual, it is worth giving here. 3. Ibid 30/8/1699. With this compare the trial of the candidate for Pittenweem school. "The Presbytery examined him in his grammar & some classical authors, & found that he could doe pretty well in expounding some hard authors extempore, & they judged him verie fitt for that post". MS. St. Andrews Pres. 28/7/1697. 4. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 16/1/1745.

the heritors were in fact approved. This however does not mean that the Presbyteries were, as a general rule, relaxing their standards. The teacher to landward, as far as we can discover, and as the 1745 decision in Saline indicates, was usually given the same examination as the candidate for a burgh school. (1) On the other hand there are indications that now and again the candidate for a remote parish school was given a less severe examination. It was reported of the young man who was tried for the school of Ceres that "he might serve in a country parish provided he made improvement", (2) and of the schoolmaster of Dunbog that he was "sufficiently qualified for the post he is settled in". (3) These are ambiguous references; but in 1702 the Presbytery of Dunfermline allowed William Glass, who "did not profess to teach Latin", to continue as schoolmaster of Cleish "for the time" until the Presbytery decided whether one who taught Latin was necessary; (4) and the schoolmaster of Auchterderran who was examined (and passed) by the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy in 1735 (5) admitted twenty years later that he had "not much Latin"; (6) and in spite of his small Latin was declared by his heritors to have "sufficient abilities for a country school" - a view in which the Presbytery concurred. (7) Mr. Thomas Mair, schoolmaster of Ballingry in 1763, did not mention Latin among his attainments when he claimed that he had been "educated to qualify him to teach a country school". (8)

1. "Tried in the Latin authors" was the usual formula in the Presbytery of St. Andrews, (MS. St. Andrews Pres. 16/6/1725, 25/3/1747 (St. Andrews G.S.), 4/5/1748, 13/6/1750 & 6/5/1767) & "tried and found qualified" in the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy (MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 23/6/1703, 18/9/1707 (Kirkcaldy G.S.), 19/11/1719 (Burntisland G.S.), 22/1/1730, 2/12/1731, 31/7/1735 & 15/1/1747). 2. MS. Cupar Pres. 26/4/1709. 3. Ibid 20/11/1705. 4. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 13/5/1702. Neither the "Heritors nor other Parishioners (were) inclined as yet to have one who professes to teach it". 5. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 31/7/1735. 6. Ibid 27/1/1759. 7. Ibid 5/12/1759. 8. Ibid 2/2/1763.

We know that by the early years of the eighteenth century Arithmetic had joined Latin and "English" as part of the usual curriculum in the parochial (and indeed in the burgh) schools; (1) and by the end of the century "Church Music" was taught in all, or nearly all, and navigation, bookkeeping and Greek were taught in some of them; but there is little evidence of the widening range of studies in the accounts (very few of which, it must be owned, are given in detail) of the examinations of would be parochial schoolmasters in the first half of the century. In 1715 the Presbytery of St. Andrews examined a master proposed by the S.P.C.K. for one of their schools, in "Arithmetic, Writing, and other qualifications necessary for teaching those schools"; (2) in 1723 the candidate for Carnock School was tried in "the Principles of Religion, knowledge of Classic authors, Writing, Arithmetic, and Singing of the Common Tunes". (3) These, however, are the only mentions of Arithmetic or Music we meet in the Presbyteries' examinations before 1750; thereafter they are often found. (4) No additional subjects were tested until the early years of the nineteenth century, when one candidate was examined in English Grammar, (5) two others were examined in Bookkeeping, (6) and two were examined in Greek. (7)

The day to day supervision of the work of these tested and tried schoolmasters, in the eighteenth as in the seventeenth century, was

1. See above, p. & below p. 2. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 30/3/1715.
3. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 27/11/1723. 4. In 1750 the candidate for Kilrenny was tried in "the Roman authors, Writing & Arithmetic". MS. St. Andrews Pres. 13/6/1750: in 1755 the candidate for Kennoway was tried in Latin, English, Arithmetic and Church Music. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 15/5/1755. So also the candidates for Markinch (1737), Saline & Torryburn (1763), & Carnock (1768, 1771, 1778). MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 19/12/1787, MS. Dunfermline Pres. 29/6/1763; 7/9/1763; 23/11/1768; 15/9/1771; 30/9/1778. 5. For Markinch - the subjects were "English, English Grammar, Arithmetic, Writing, and the Christian Religion". MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 5/10/1803. 6. For Auchtermuchty & Kettle - MS. Cupar Pres. 4/9/1804 & 3/10/1804. 7. For Kettle & Ceres - Ibid 3/10/1804 & 7/5/1805.

of course in the hands of the local Kirk Session. But the general supervision of the schools continued to remain with the Presbyteries; and to exercise this control they were expected to visit the parishes in their bounds at regular intervals. For the first 30 years of the century they carried out this duty, though hardly as vigorously as one might have hoped. Between 1704 and 1714 the Presbytery of Cupar visited 13 of the 19 parishes in the bounds; between 1714 and 1731 only six, one of them twice. (1) In Dunfermline all the landward parishes were visited between 1702 and 1722 - once each; and Inverkeithing was visited too. (2) Kirkcaldy Presbytery conducted 22 visitations (including visits to public schools by committees of the Presbytery) between 1703 and 1721. (3) St. Andrews Presbytery conducted 28 visitations between 1698 and 1730, only three of them after 1720; and only Crail was not visited. (4) After 1730 the Presbyteries seem to have abandoned parochial visitations and with them the closer control over the parochial (but not, as we shall see, over the burgh) schools which the visitations permitted them to exercise. For 60 years it was left to the Kirk Sessions or to groups of disgruntled parishioners to uncover inefficiency or unbecoming conduct on the part of the parish schoolmaster.

The Visitation of Markinch by the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy in 1704, which is related in rather greater detail than usual, was no doubt typical in the questions asked, if not always in the answers received. (5)

1. MS. Cupar Pres. 1704 to 1731 passim. 2. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 13/5/1702 to 2/8/1722 passim. 3. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 23/6/1708 to 27/4/1721 passim. 4. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 18/6/1698 to 26/8/1730 passim. 5. Very few of the Visitations are described in detail. The Pres. Clerk was content to describe the interview with the schoolmaster in such terms as "(they) had a schoolmaster - the elders were pretty well satisfied with him ... as were the heritors" (MS. Cupar Pres. 20/8/1708) or "the schoolmaster was asked the ordinary questions" (MS. St. Andrews Pres. 28/5/1713) or "the usual questions" (Ibid 6/7/1715). Did the schoolmaster pray with his scholars & sing a psalm with them daily was obviously one of the ordinary questions - e.g. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 28/5/1713; MS. Cupar Pres. 20/8/1708, 1/9/1708, 23/10/1708, 1/2/1709; MS. Dunfermline Pres. 13/5/1702; & MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 5/11/1705, 30/10/1707, 28/10/1703.

"Had they a schoolmaster at the Kirk legally constituted? Yes. The minister said there is one at the Kirk so repute. Anent the state of the school ... and the conversation of the schoolmaster, he answered he had not so since he came inquired into these, as that he could speak ... distinctly thereanent ... The heritors declared they were pleased with their schoolmaster, and one of them said that he is very painfull, that he hath a good school and the scholars profit under him very much". After the minister had been asked about the provision of "English schools" in the parish (a matter to which we shall return), Mr. George Ramsay, the schoolmaster, was called in. "How many had he in the school? He had now only threttie in it. Did he give them a good example? Yes. Did he pray with his scholars morning and evening? Yes. What salary had he? Ten pounds sterling. What Grammar and authors did he teach? Disputers (sic) Grammar, Dicta, Cato, Corderius, Ovids epistles and Metamorphosis, Virgil, Horace, Majora and Minora Colloquia Erasmi, Buchanan, Salust, and for sacred pence Dialoga Sacrorum and Buchanans psalms. Hath he subscribed the Confession of Faith? No; he wants time to consider before he will. Did he take the Test? Yes; he thought it was lawful when he took it ... Does he own the Church Government by Kirk Session, Presbytery and Synod to be of Divine Right and an ordinance of Jesus Christ? He could not answer that now". (1)

Occasionally the schoolmaster was given a rough handling at these Visitations. "The minister told that he heard he did not attend so punctually upon the school as were needful ... the Elders declared he was verie capable to teach the grammar, and that he waited better upon the school

1. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 1/6/1704. When the Presbytery visited Wemyss in 1707, and asked similar questions, they were told that the Grammar used there was also Disputers (Despauters). Ibid 30/10/1707.

than formerly" was the report on one schoolmaster. (1) "They were not so very well satisfied with his deportment and attendance upon the school, but that they expected he would amend ... in time coming" was the report on another. (2) "He was diligent and painfull ... Onlie some elders complained he had not musick, for which he was necessariat to employ another to officiat as Precenter. As also that he had not a good hand at write and that he did not teach arithmetick which was very necessary for the youth in that place" (Pittenweem) it was reported of a third. (3) All three escaped with an exhortation to attend well. The Probationer in Leuchars school, however, fared worse. In spite of some "flagrant reports of his miscarriage and off the scandalle in his family" the Minister and Elders "let him officiat to see if he would satisfye them, but at last they found him grow worse and worse, and so unsafe was he unto them and so unfaithful in all his trust that they could bear him no longer". The Presbytery discharged him from all his offices. (4)

When, towards the end of the century, and as a by-product of the fear of subversive activity which the French Revolution created, the Presbyteries began once more to take an active interest in the conduct of the public (and of the private) schools of the county, the instrument they used was not Parochial Visitation. Instead Committees of the Presbyteries were sent out to visit and examine the schools - a procedure which seems to be extremely rare as regards parochial schools, (5) but which had been common enough as regards burgh schools. Cupar School, for example, was visited by that Presbytery in 1709, and on at least eleven occasions between 1740 and

1. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 18/6/1698. (of Kilconquhar) 2. Of St. Monance: Ibid 4/7/1701. 3. Ibid 12/4/1700. 4. Ibid 26/6/1700. 5. But in 1709 a Committee of Kirkealdy Pres. visited Abbotshall School - MS. Kirkealdy Pres. 9/6/1709.

1773. (1) The burgh schools of Burntisland, Kinghorn and Kirkcaldy were all visited by Committees of the Kirkcaldy Presbytery in 1709; (2) and Kirkcaldy School again in 1739 (3) (this being in addition to the yearly visitations of that school which were conducted by the local ministers). (4) As late as 1784 a Committee of St. Andrews Presbytery visited and examined the Burgh School of Crail. (5) Some of these examinations, it is interesting to note, were at the request of the schoolmasters - of Cupar School, for example, in 1740, 1741, and 1773 (6) - and at least one was at the request of the Town Council - of Kirkcaldy School in 1739. (7) Furthermore, although it is not unlikely that there were more Presbyterian examinations than were recorded in the minutes, it is plain that this method of supervising the work of the schoolmaster became rarer as the century advanced, (in spite of the Synod's reminder, in 1762, of the need for all Presbyteries to examine "all the Public Grammar Schools within the bounds at least twice a year") (8) until, as has been mentioned, there was a sudden and thorough revival in the last decade.

It would seem, too, from the extant accounts of the earlier examinations of the burgh schools, that the Brethren took their task seriously. When they visited Cupar School in 1740 they "examined the several classes and likewise heard the Master examine them upon such authors as they ha (sic) read through the year preceding"; (9) and the Committee of Kirkcaldy Presbytery which examined Kirkcaldy School in 1739 "heard the first

1. MS. Cupar Pres. 8/3/1709; 9/9/1740; 1/9/1741; 20/7/1742; 28/8/1744; 30/7/1754; 6/9/1757; 7/9/1758; 8/9/1761; 25/9/1764; 13/8/1765; 31/8/1773.
2. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 24/3/1709; 9/6/1709; & 28/7/1709. 3. Ibid 20/9/1739.
4. According to the rules accepted by Town Council and Kirk Session in 1705 - Kirkcaldy K.S. 28/8/1705, quoted by J. Campbell, "Church & Parish of Kirkcaldy".
5. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 8/9/1784. 6. MS. Cupar Pres. 29/7/1740, 28/7/1741, & 31/8/1773. 7. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 16/8/1739. 8. Ibid 30/6/1762.
9. MS. Cupar Pres. 9/9/1740.

and second classes examined by the Mester on such parts of Juvenal and Horace as the Committee pointed out, after which the boyes had discourses" on a "sentence" of Cicero. (1)

But to return to the parochial schools; in 1794 the General Assembly ordered every Presbytery to examine the schools in its bounds; (2) as a result each appointed a number of Committees for the purpose, and all the public schools were visited regularly from then until the end of the century and after. (3) One report indicates the scope of these examinations: in 1796 the Presbytery of Dunfermline "found that all the Parochial Schools within their bounds have been visited since the appointments for that purpose in September last; And that the bible and Shorter Catechism are taught in all these schools. The Presbytery also find that the Committees were satisfied with the diligence of the Masters and the proficiency of the scholars in all these schools examined by them except the parochial school of Carnock and the school in Dunfermline taught by Mr Jesson". (4) We also observe, however, that a parochial schoolmaster's failure to satisfy the Presbytery examiners during this series of Visitations led neither to his dismissal nor, apparently, to his reformation: twice in the year before this report the schoolmaster of Carnock had been reprovved for his "lack of Diligence" and his "habitual negligence"; (5) nevertheless he was still officiating in Carnock in 1805, and still being the subject of adverse reports. (6)

1. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 20/9/1739. 2. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 2/12/1794; MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 3/12/1794. 3. MS. Cupar Pres. 31/3/1795; 5/5/1795; 3/9/1799; 1/10/1799; 3/10/1804. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 2/12/1794; 10/3/1795; 22/10/1796; 8/5/1798. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 3/12/1794. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 30/5/1800. 4. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 26/4/1796. 5. Ibid 10/3/1795 & 29/9/1795. 6. Ibid 16/4/1805.

The provision of a "commodious school and schoolhouse" was, as we have seen, the responsibility of the Heritors. In some parishes, of course, the heritors were no more eager to build, or keep in good repair these schools which had been built, than they were to provide salaries, and it was the business of the Presbyteries to give them the necessary encouragement. During the period when visitations were comparatively frequent, the brethren usually asked if there was a "convenient schoolhouse". (1) If the reply was unsatisfactory, the heritors were at least "strongly recommended" (as in Orwell in 1700) to build "a convenient schoolhouse and chamber for the ... Master", and apportion the cost amongst themselves. (2) Finally, if the heritors moved too slowly for the Presbytery's liking, the Commissioners of Supply were called in. And too slowly could be very slowly indeed. In 1709 the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy sent a Committee to Portmoak (3) to meet the "Heritors, Elders, and heads of families" to take steps to provide that parish with proper schools. It was agreed that there should be two schoolmasters - "one on the North side and one on the Southside of the Parish" - the north schoolmaster to be provided with a dwellinghouse in addition to the existing schoolhouse, and the south schoolmaster to be provided with "a house for the schoolmaster". (4) But, except for a period of nine months, no second schoolmaster was appointed, and apparently no schoolhouse built; and although the Presbytery ordered a school and schoolhouse to be built in 1719, it had not been begun in 1721, when the heritors were threatened with an appeal to the Commissioners of Supply. (5) It is possible that the Heritors did provide

1. e.g. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 26/6/1700 & 27/4/1721; MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 21/12/1709; MS. St. Andrews Pres. 23/6/1708. 2. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 26/6/1700. 3. Portmoak is of course in Kinross, but it is mentioned here as illustrating very well the difficulties in a landward, "backwoods", and extensive parish. 4. This, presumably, as school and schoolhouse. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 21/12/1709. 5. Ibid 23/9/1719 & 27/4/1721.

some kind of a building soon after; but if so they and their successors took few pains to maintain it; for in 1758 Mr. Dun, the schoolmaster, was "authorized and appointed" to apply to the Commissioners of Supply "to provide (him) with a proper Commodious House and a Salary"; (1) and even then the Heritors were able to hold out until 1777, when at last they began to build. (2)

Slightly better was the record of the Ballingry heritors, but that too offers an excellent example of delaying tactics. In 1709 the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy found that there was "no convenient schoolhouse" in the parish, and ordered the heritors "to lay on a fond for the Reparation of the Schoolhouse" (3) - "reparation", it would seem, being a synonym for "building". But it was not until shortly before 1719 that much was done. By that year, four bare walls had risen near the Kirk; and then the Heritors agreed that they had chosen the wrong site, which was "remote from the centre of the parish", and decided to build "at the Milntoun", at a cost "not exceeding ten pounds sterling". The school at Milton was to be 24 feet long and 13 feet broad "within walls". (4) But this project came to nothing; and in February 1722, at a meeting of the heritors, the "generalitie of the parish" thought it "inconvenient to have the school at the Milton", and decided that a school and schoolhouse should be built "on the east side of the Kirkyard Dyke besouth the east gate for the Kirkyard". (5) The arrangements for fetching building material to the site were now gone about with some despatch and were no doubt typical; each of the 38 "ploughs" in the parish

1. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 5/9/1758. 2. MS. Portmoak Heritors 1/4/1777; 16/4/1777. It was completed in 1780. A Committee of the heritors having viewed it "agreed it was sufficient of its kind". Ibid 4/10/1780. From 1744 Mr. Dun "kept the school" in his own house; for 28 years he received, as he complained, no "Consideration from the Parish for the said house". Ibid 8/3/1771. 3. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 21/12/1709. 4. Jamie, p.71. 5. Ibid p.72, quoting K.S. 27/3/1722.

was to be liable for the carriage of 10 "sled draughts of bigging stone"; each "plough" was also to bring one cart full of hewing stone, seven draughts of sand, and "one long carriage of timber" - all this to be performed between the 7th and 17th of June. This building was roofed, not with "a divot theaking", as was fairly common, but with tile from the Linktoun of Abbotshall, at £18 Scots the thousand; and once more the tenants had to give their services to fetch the tiles - contributing 35 horses (one per "plough") (1), each to fetch 36 tiles. As a result of this burst of activity, the school was completed before the end of 1722; one hopes it was stoutly built - it had to serve until 1825. (2)

In addition to threatening to invoke the aid of the Commissioners of Supply, and carrying out their threat (3) - and at least once complaining of the Commissioners' "unnecessary delay" (4) - the brethren of the Presbytery might take a more detailed interest in the building of the school. In 1720, for example, the Presbytery of Kirkealdy called for an estimate "for a house (in Abbotshall) for the schoolmaster and schoolhouse of 1 storrie high at thirteen foot broad and thirtie six foot long with the ground"; (5) and approved an estimate for a building "thirty feet within walls long 15 foot broad within walls 4½ ells high in the side walls, three doors, six windows, three chimneys one stair ... at a total cost of £212 and carriage, with Wrought work 49 ells, 44 twelve (sic) ells, 108 deals which

1. In April it had been calculated there were 38 "ploughs" in the parish; the carriage of stones etc. had no doubt permitted the calculations to be revised. 2. Jamie, pp. 74-75. 3. e.g. concerning the school of Abbotshall - MS. Kirkealdy Pres. 1/6/1721; concerning the school of Kinglassie - Ibid 23/2/1721; school of Cultra - MS. Cupar Pres. 1/5/1760; and school of Kilrenny - MS. St. Andrews Pres. 7/11/1759. 4. Over the school of Abbotshall. MS. Kirkealdy Pres. 1/6/1721. 5. Ibid 20/12/1720.

extends to 168 pounds". (1) A smaller and poorer parish (2) such as Kinglassie was permitted to build a smaller school and schoolhouse - "20 feet by 13 feet within walls two ells high with a stone chimney and four hewn windows two feet high and 18 inches wide". (3)

Those heritors who moved only when they were threatened with the Commissioners of Supply, or after they had been haled before them, were not the only heritors, as we shall see, who for long periods dodged their obligation to build school and schoolhouse. But their lack of responsibility did not necessarily mean that the parish schoolmaster had to build for himself, or do without. On at least one occasion, it is true, a school had to meet in the parish church, since there was no other suitable building in the parish. (4) But there was another body which was prepared to step in and do what the heritors would not do - though no doubt with the firm intention of recovering the expenses to which they had been put. Again and again throughout the century Kirk Sessions carried out necessary repairs on old school buildings, bought houses for conversion to schools, or built new schools. The history of the school and schoolhouse of Carnock provides a good example of their activities. In 1713 the Session ordered "the reparation of the school and schoolmaster's house which hath been in use to be

1. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 27/4/1721. cf. the projected school in Portmoak - 30' by 14' by 9' high; 2 doors, 3 windows south side; chimney and window each gable - Ibid 3/3/1740; and the school of Cleish also supervised by the Presbytery in 1735 - 32 ft. long, 15 ft. broad, side walls 6 ft. high, total cost £1595 Scots. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 25/6/1735. 2. "The valued rent" (of Abbotshall) "is considerable" - MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 20/12/1720. 3. Ibid 23/2/1721. 4. In Carnock, in 1713, while the school and schoolhouse was being repaired - Webster, Carnock, p.166 - and after 1726. See below. In Torryburn also the school met for a short time in the Church during repairs to the school in 1711. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 12/6/1729.

possessed by the schoolmaster for above 40 years", and a year later paid £5.14s. Scots "for making four forms for the use of the school, deals and workmanship". (1) In 1719 the session, after an unsuccessful appeal to certain of the heritors the year before "to see if by any means they will provide a school and schoolhouse this summer", built a new schoolhouse at a cost of over £33 Scots, (2) "without the assistance of one farthing from the Heritors". (3) This however did not solve all their problems; "they had a house for the schoolmaster and another for the School, but that for the school (was) ruinous"; so that when their schoolmaster married in 1726, and was "obliged to take up his habitation in the ordinary Schoolhouse ... they (wanted) a house for keeping the school in". Once more the Heritors were appealed to; and the appeal failing, the matter was referred to the Presbytery.⁽⁴⁾ But they too had little success with the principal heritor, Colonel Erskine. As the Kirk Session complained in September 1727, "after all the diligence they have used and application made to the Reverend Presbytery and Heritors of the Parish they still want a school for teaching of the Scholars in and that now the Winter is drawing on and that they cannot be convened in the Church the parents refusing to send their Children thither because of the cold (5) and that Collonel Erskine refuseth to employ the vacant schoolmasters salary to that". Once more they implored the Presbytery to "take some effectual course for obliging the Heritors to build a School". The Presbytery promised to do what they could; in the meantime they appointed the Session "to hyre a house for keeping the school in". (6)

1. Webster, Carnock, p.166. 2. This was the cost of mason work, lime, and thatching alone. Ibid, p.167. 3. As they complained to the Presbytery, MS. Dunfermline Pres. 22/2/1727. 4. Webster, Carnock, p.167. 5. This has an obvious bearing on the question of the heating of parochial schools. 6. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 20/9/1727.

And there apparently the matter remained; Colonel Erskine refused to apply the "vacant salary" to repairing the schoolhouse; and the other important heritor, Sir Peter Halket, made that his excuse for refusing "to contribute anything to that end". (1) The Presbytery showed remarkable tenderness to these heritors, and did not refer the case to the Commissioners of Supply, and it was left to the Session, we can infer, to keep the school buildings in repair. (2) As late as 1811, indeed, the heritors were trying to deny any liability to provide school buildings, but this time unsuccessfully. (3)

Owing to the disappearance of many of the Kirk Session Cash-books, and of most of the Heritors records, it is impossible to say what proportion of the Kirk Sessions in the county made themselves responsible for paying their schoolmaster's housemeal, building schools, keeping them in repair, and attending to the school furnishings. Nevertheless, sufficient evidence is available to show that this valuable educational work was common. In Aberdour, for example, the Session paid 5s "for seats to the school" in 1716, and 3s for pointing the school in 1719; repaired the school windows in 1720; gave £11 for three tables and a form for the school in 1734; and paid for "a window into the Backside of the School" in 1765. (4) In Saline the Session gave a crown for "a double tree and a plank to be a table and seats to the school" in 1709; paid for repairs to the school windows in 1710; made itself mainly responsible for building a new school and schoolhouse in 1714; in conjunction with the heritors organised the collection of "voluntary contributions"; and lent money from "the Box" to meet part of the cost. (5)

1. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 17/1/1728 & 17/4/1728. 2. In 1793, the schoolmaster had a "free house and yard" - O.S.A., Carnock. 3. Webster, Carnock, p.176. In 1813 the new school and schoolhouse was erected at a cost of £200.
4. MS. Aberdour K.S. 23/11/1716; 18/9/1719; 16/6/1720; 5/2/1734; 12/10/1765.
5. MS. Saline K.S. 29/12/1713; 16/4/1714; 27/5/1714; 13/8/1714; 21/12/1709; 20/2/1710.

(After 1739, however, when extensive repairs were carried out on the school and schoolhouse under the supervision of the Presbytery, (1) the heritors paid for repairs; but even then we find such entries as "to the glazier for mending the school windows ... to be refunded by the Heritors - £2.16s.") (2) In the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy the Kennoway elders paid the schoolmaster's housemeal in 1701; met the cost of thatching the school in 1701 and again in 1706; repaired the school windows in 1719, and so on. (3) In 1738 the Kirk Session of Auchtertool gave "all the money that was in the box"- £170.18s.6d Scots - for the reparation of the school and schoolhouse; and until 1765 they made regular payments for expenditure on repairs. (4)

A particularly good example of the Session's work in taking over the schoolbuilding obligation from the Heritors, finally becoming tired of the burden, and successfully transferring it back to the Heritors, is found in Kilrenny. There the building which served as school and schoolhouse was rented by the Kirk Session for 20 merks per annum. Since the proprietor of the house owed the Session 300 merks - the interest on which was set against the rent - they were able to insist in 1718, that it should be put in "a convenient habitable condition or else pay up the money". (5) Between

1. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 18/4/1739. 2. MS. Saline K.S. 27/11/1752.
3. MS. Kennoway K.S. 27/4/1701; 24/12/1701; 6/1/1703; 21/5/1704; 9/7/1706; 19/12/1719; 7/5/1722 and passim to 12/1/1742. The organisation of the repairs by the Kirk Session in 1739 is interesting. It was reported that 4,000 "Dovets" and "as much thatch as will cover the North Syde of the whole bigging, and to be easing Drops to the foresyde" would be required. The Kirk Session Committee in charge of the arrangements asked the Tenants to send their Wains to bring in the dovets from "the Common of Doven, but the Session thought it unreasonable the Tenants be asked for their Wains until the harvest was over. But when the harvest was over, the dovets on the Common were "much worsted by late excessive Rains", and no thatch could be got. The following year, however, the job was completed. Ibid 19/8/1727; 22/9/1729; 16/8/1730; & 24/12/1730. 4. Stevenson - Kirk & Parish of Auchtertool, pp.122,127.
5. MS. Kilrennie K.S. 24/10/1718 & 24/11/1718. Even then, since the proprietor could not afford complete repairs, he was to be responsible for the roof and making the house "every way wind and water tight, and the Session to defray expenses of Reparation ... within the house".

1728 and 1748 the Session, in addition to paying 20 merks of rent each year, made a number of payments for repairs to the school. (1) In 1750, however, the Session, angered at the refusal of the Heritors to allow them any voice in the election of the schoolmaster in that year, grew tired of this drain on their resources and appealed to the Presbytery. (2) The Presbytery agreed that the 20 merks of rent the Session had been paying out of the Box had been misapplied, and recommended that "the practice should be discontinued". (3) But this did not suit the Heritors; in 1752 they resolved that "the Session ought to pay the Rents of the School and Schoolhouse according to use and wont", and refused to pay any rent. (4) Once more the Session carried the matter to the Presbytery; but in the meantime they continued to pay; (5) and when the Presbytery did deal with the matter (in 1755) their recommendation that the Session should continue to "pay the 20 merks yearly that they were in use to pay ... to prevent any further Disputes ... till some proper method be fallen upon to relieve them of that burden" gave the Session little satisfaction. (6) At last, however, on the petition of the schoolmaster, who complained that lately he had been prosecuted for eight years rent of his schoolhouse "and notwithstanding his bad state of health laid in prison" until the Kirk Session "moved with compassion lent him the money", and furthermore that he had "no place to teach in but the Church, where he and those under his care were almost starved to death with the cold", the Presbytery took the action so long overdue and remitted the case to the Commissioners of Supply. (7) Then the Heritors built a school and school-

1. Ibid 29/4/1728; 11/3/1745; 27/10/1746; 16/2/1747. 2. Ibid 14/4/1750.
3. Ibid 17/9/1750. 4. Ibid 6/11/1752. 5. Ibid 17/6/1754. 6. Ibid 22/9/1755
7. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 30/1/1760. In fact there are regular entries of payment by the Kirk Session of rent for school and schoolhouse between 1755 and 1761 - MS. Kilrennie K.S. 3/11/1755 to 14/9/1761 passim.

house, 36 feet long and 19 feet wide, at a cost of £49; and they repaid their schoolmaster what he had paid in house rents since 1750. (1)

It is only fair to add that although the school that was built in 1761 was, according to those who inspected it in 1822, "never a substantial house", (2) the heritors thereafter seem to have kept it in reasonable, if hardly luxurious, repair: they put in "Desks for the scholars' writing" in 1782, repaired the roof in 1783, and repaired the whole building in 1793. (3) On the last occasion their repairs included the glazing of the broken window panes - "and afterwards what is brock the schoolmaster to putt them in himself or Oblidge those that breaks them to Putt them in". (4)

Enough has been said of the provision of school buildings, whether by the Heritors, willing or unwilling, or by the Kirk Session, to show that in Fife at least we need not take too seriously the description of the usual school as "a small dirty room, the windows often without glass to let in the light, or deal boards to shut out the cold and wind and sleet ... in many cases (with) no desks to write at and no benches to sit upon". (5) But none of the buildings were luxurious, and some were very poor. Indeed, if by any chance the schoolmaster found himself with a building above the austere level that the Session or the Heritors thought suitable for him, he might not have it long. In Scoonie, for example, just before 1758, a new schoolhouse was built - at the expense of the Box. When the bill was presented, the Session was aghast. As they wrote to the heritors, the new building "was

1. MS. Kilrennie Heritors 13/5/1761 & 20/12/1764. It is worth noting here that in fact the money the Kirk Session paid for a school from 1718 really came out of the schoolmaster's pocket. See below p. 2. Ibid 6/3/1822.
3. Ibid 1/11/1782; 22/5/1783; 20/8/1793. 4. Ibid 20/8/1793.
5. H.Gray Graham, op.cit., p.425. In Aberdour, Carnock, Saline, Forgan, Kingsbrans, and Scoonie the Kirk Sessions provided seats or tables for the school at one time or another. In Aberdour, Carnock, Kennoway, Scoonie, Ferry, and Forgan the Session paid for glass to windows.

never designed by them to be such a costly Habitation ... it was never in the mind of any concerned to rear up such a vainglorious house at the Expense of about Six Hundred and Sixty Eight pounds 17 shillings"; (1) which, when paid out of the Poor's box, was "robbing the Widows and fatherless, which we hope the Heritors will never give their consent to". (2) The heritors evidently felt the force of the Session's argument: the following year the Session let the lower apartment at "the West End of the Schoolhouse" to Agnes Diston "for which she is to pay the usual rent". (3) Moreover, when a few years later the schoolmaster decided that the schoolhouse required "several reparations ... for his own conveniency", they were paid for neither by Session nor by heritors, but by the schoolmaster himself "upon condition he be secured in possession of the said house as long as he continues teacher of youth" in the parish. (4)

There is some evidence that towards the end of the century the parents of school children were beginning to demand a higher standard of accommodation in the schools than had been common earlier - there is a vigour and completeness about the descriptions by schoolmaster and parents of the more squalid schoolrooms which is unusual in the earlier accounts. Of course we must remember that the growth of population was causing severe overcrowding in buildings which 50 or 100 years before had been adequate. Nevertheless, when this is taken into account, it is instructive to compare what the schoolmaster of Scoonie had to say of his school in 1799 with the evident satisfaction of the Session there 40 years before. "It appears", wrote the Heritors' clerk in 1799, "from the examination of Richard Moore Schoolmaster that the present

1. cf. with Creich Heritors' statement in 1796 that their schoolmaster "had ... made his house in a much more elegant (way) than is usual or necessary for such dwellings". MS. Creich Heritors 20/5/1796. 2. MS. Scoonie K.S. 13/8/1758. 3. Ibid 19/8/1759. 4. Ibid 23/11/1767.

schoolroom is in length 28 feet, in width 14 feet, in height seven feet, so that the Floor thereof is so low that the heads of the scholars when sitting on their Forms are not so high as the surface of the surrounding earth; that the number of scholars during the said Masters incumbency has been from 110 to 120; that about February last an epidemic disaster broke out in the school (... he believes occasioned by overcrowding) and it was judged necessary to close the school; (and) since its being reassembled the scholars were more sickly when confined at school than when suffered to be at large". Having satisfied themselves with the aid of evidence from two medical men that the existing school was indeed unhealthy, the heritors agreed to build a new school - of brick or stone (whichever was the least expensive" - 40 feet long by 23 feet broad by 12 feet high. (1)

Very similar was the position in Markinch in 1798. There the parents alleged "that from the smallness of the School Room, the children were kept in a constant perspiration, and either lost their Health, or in order to preserve it must be kept at Home and deprived of Education altogether". The existing schoolroom was "about 22 feet by 14 feet wide and no more than 6½ feet from floor to ceiling"; which was, the heritors agreed, inadequate owing "to the growth of the population, the number of children often amounting to 100 and upward". There too the projected new schoolroom was considerably larger - it was to be "30 feet by 20 feet, with walls 9 feet high which by coom ceiling, the Roof would be from floor to ceiling 12 feet high". There were to be seven windows, five feet by two and a half feet each, and "a porch over the door". (2)

1. MS. Scoonie Heritors 28/7/1799. It was not until 1806, however, that the job was started. Ibid 8/5/1806. 2. MS. Markinch Heritors 18/10/1798. Note also that in 1804 the Carnbee schoolroom floor was to be levelled so that it was 7 ft clear of roof and earth was to be removed from the back of the school to give at least 1 ft. below the sole of the windows. MS. Carnbee Heritors 23/8/1804.

Finally, in order that we may have a direct comparison between two schools built in the same parish, one near the beginning and the other at the end of the eighteenth century, let us look at the buildings the Kinglassie heritors erected in 1796. The new schoolmaster's house was 30 feet by 18 feet "within walls"; the schoolmaster's kitchen was floored with earth and lime, "the room" floored with wood, and "the garret joisted and floored with a window in the Gable for the garret with one fireplace". The school was 27 feet long, 18 feet wide (as compared with the 20 feet long and 13 feet wide of the 1721 building), and nine feet "from floor to joist". The windows were five feet by three feet (as against the earlier two feet by 18 inches) and were made "to let down for air to the boys". The seats and desks were "of good foreign fir". (1)

What life was like for pupils and schoolmasters within the buildings procured, in many cases, with such difficulty will be left for consideration until we have outlined the history of the burgh schools. But here we may note that in the eighteenth century as in the twentieth both burgh and parochial school buildings were liable to be turned over to uses deemed more important than education. In Pittenweem in 1706 teacher and pupils were turned out of the school to make room for the notorious Pittenweem witches; (2) and in Torryburn in the first quarter of the century the lower part of the school was regularly used not only as a court house, (but only on Saturday afternoons, so that the school should not be disturbed) but also as a prison; and as one witness declared, he had seen the prisoners "kept in there eight days, and some 3 days and one about a month ... When there were prisoners there the school was kept in the Kirk". (3)

1. MS. Kinglassie Heritors 28/4/1796.
2. MS. Pittenweem B.R. 11/3/1706.
3. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 12/6/1729.

The Adventure School.

Having completed this survey of the parochial school, we must now turn to an examination of the Adventure schools in the eighteenth century. As we have seen, these existed in considerable numbers in the seventeenth century; and from the figures of population that have been given, it is obvious that in very many of the landward parishes one schoolmaster was incapable of dealing with all the children who should have been put to school. The burgh schools in the large burghs were still less capable of holding all the town bairns. That this was a situation that ought not to be left solely to private enterprise was recognised by at least one of the Fife Presbyteries. In 1703 the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy, "having in their bounds some spacious parishes, in which children cannot be accomodated at the Legall School at the Kirk, and considering that this may be a General case, Therefore ... instruct their Commissioners ... to propose to the said Assembly that their formers Acts anent Schools be renewed And that the Assembly appoint, that where parishes are large, Ministers, presbyteries, and Synods, see to the getting ordered other Schools beside the legall one at the Kirk where they are necessary". (1) In view of the difficulty the Kirk met in getting one "legall" school established and housed in every parish, it is not surprising that outwith the burghs little came of this attempt to create additional official (or at least semi-official) schools in a number of parishes. The field was left to the Adventurer, who might be, and, as we shall see, often was, supported by the Kirk, but who was, except in rare cases, and then, as far as is known, only in the burghs, without even that measure of security enjoyed by the parochial schoolmasters, and usually without any school or schoolhouse except what he hired out of his meagre earnings.

1. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 1703.

It is impossible to state how many Adventure schoolmasters and schoolmistresses there were in the county at the beginning of the century. Some measure of the opportunities for them (apart from what population figures indicate) can, however, be obtained from such statements as that of the minister of Markinch in 1704 that "he had ... taken a list of all the children that may attend school, where they may be conveniently held, and that they are so numerous as six schoolmasters that will be dutyfull (in case parents send forth their children) will have full work, and that (it) would be crueltie to oblige all the children to come to the Kirk" (i.e. to the school at the Kirk) "and that many young ones of parents must be untaught, if care be not had, to get teachers for them, at some distance from the Church, and that children cannot come in without danger ... from the south side of Leven". He added that he and the elders "had been making an essay wherein they may perhaps need the Presbytery's assistance". (1) The session had been endeavouring to have an "English School" erected in Coaltown, on the far side of "the dangerous water", but up to this time with little success; (2) now with the help of the Presbytery, which found "it necessary, that in the parish there be English schools erected" and appointed three of its members to deal with the principal heritors, a school was set up in Coaltown; (3) for a period at least the English schoolmaster's housemail was paid by the Kirk Session, and the school was still in existence in 1793. (4)

Other Presbyteries show the same need for additional teachers.

In Cameron (Presbytery of St. Andrews) in 1709 the elders declared that one (legal) school "though they had it", could not "serve the whole parish, the

1. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 1/6/1704. The population in Markinch in 1755, according to Webster, was 2188. 2. MS. Markinch K.S. 25/10/1702. 3. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 1/6/1704. 4. MS. Markinch K.S. 29/9/1707 & O.S.A., Markinch. Unfortunately, the Session records from 1715 to 1798 have disappeared and the history of this school cannot be traced.

bounds being large and the way deep in winter, but they (had) several private schools in the parish"; and to the schoolmaster of one of these they gave "such an allowance as they are able". (1) Somewhat later, the inhabitants of Limehills (a village in the parish of Dunfermline) petitioned the Presbytery for assistance to maintain an adventure school. There were, they said, "about Eighty families in that place, the most part of whom are very poor and having a great many children"; the place was "two long miles distant from the public school of the parish". They could not "get Education to their children, having no encouragement to a Teacher, not so much as a house to live in and teach the children, but what he (was) obliged to hire, and though the Proprietor of the place (had) been so generous as to allocate as much ground as (would) be sufficient for building two houses and a kalayard to a teacher, yet the inhabitants being so poor they (were) not able to build the said houses, and therefore earnestly entreated the Presbytery would appoint a voluntary contribution for their assistance". This the Presbytery agreed to do. (2)

Aid for the adventure schoolmaster or schoolmistress by the provision of a house or even by the payment of a small salary was common in the burghs - payments made sometimes by the Town Council and sometimes by the Kirk Session. In St. Andrews, for example, the Kirk Session paid salaries to schoolmasters (or schoolmistresses) in Denhead, (3) Kincapple, (4) Boarhills (5) and Strathkiness, (6) and helped the tenants to build or maintain schoolhouses. In 1720 they "appointed £34 (Scots) to be payed to the tenants of Kincapple they obliging themselves to make a sufficient house for

1. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 6/7/1709. 2. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 14/2/1739.
3. MS. St. Andrews K.S. (in P.R.) 5/11/1719; 3/7/1729; 3/10/1751.
4. Ibid 5/11/1719; 29/3/1723; 14/11/1751; 1/7/1766. 5. Ibid 31/3/1720 - this salary was paid out of a mortification. 6. Ibid 6/1/1755; 30/3/1758.

the schoolmaster and school". (1) In 1729 they "recommended to the inhabitants in and about Denhead that they upon their own charges Sufficiently uphold the schoolhouse and dwelling house belonging to the Master there, the samen now to be putt in good case and condition at the Seesion's charge". (2) In 1755 considering "how many in the Neighbourhood have their children accommodated at that School, and considering also that there is neither School House nor Dwelling House, which belongs to the Schoolmaster", in Strathkiness, they agreed to grant the schoolmaster an additional £1.12s Scots of salary. (3) In 1754 the Burntisland Town Council granted Margaret Haxton, "schoolmistress, being settled in the town for teaching girls" £2 per annum, in return for which she would teach two or three "poor scholars" who were to be presented by the Magistrates. (4) In Cupar in 1713, the Town Council, being informed "that there is a Gentlewoman in Edinburgh of verry good fame and Reputation and abundantly qualified for teaching young Women that inclines to come to the place provided she be assured of encouragement", granted her £2 yearly for a house. (5) In the last decade of the century this burgh was actually paying salaries to two schoolmistresses - to one £4 and to the other £15. (6) In addition, some time before this, we find the Town Council granting the use of the Tolbooth to teachers: the Lower Tolbooth to the second doctor of the Grammar School "for teaching private scholars till he be otherwise provided for"; and the Upper Tolbooth to Mr. Clarkson, dancing master, "for teaching his scholars". (7) In 1759

1. Ibid 21/7/1720. 2. Ibid 3/7/1729. 3. Ibid 6/1/1755. It would be a poor house he could rent for this sum. 4. MS. Burntisland B.R. 25/9/1745. 5. MS. Cupar B.R. 7/3/1713. 6. Ibid 17/12/1792; 24/5/1800; & 17/10/1795, 30/1/1796, & 24/5/1800. It is a moot point whether the lady who received the £15 p.a. (Miss Euphema McPherson) should be regarded as an Adventurer at all. Not only was her salary almost as large as that of the "English Schoolmaster" of the burgh (i.e. the schoolmaster of the English School, one of the two parts into which the Burgh School was divided. See below, p.) - her fees were fixed by the Town Council. Ibid 30/1/1796. 7. Ibid 13/1/1779.

Dunfermline Town Council agreed to pay a schoolmistress £2.10s of yearly salary. (1)

Much more common than the payment of salaries or housemail to the Adventurers was the payment to them of fees for poor children. These payments were invariably made by the Kirk Sessions, and were made in both burghs and landward parishes. Sometimes the adventurer was paid a lump sum hardly distinguishable from a salary - as in Aberdour in 1718, when John Walls, "a poor man who teaches some poor ones that are not able to come to the Head school" was given 10s. (2) Generally, however, the schoolmaster or schoolmistress was paid according to the number of poor scholars taught. Margaret Hay, a schoolmistress in Kilrenny, was paid £3.6s.8d Scots for 10 quarters between November 1719 and October 1720; and £6.6s.8d Scots for 20 quarters between July 1721 and October 1722. (3) Between 1719 and 1724 there were always at least two "private teachers" receiving school fees from the Kirk Session in this parish. (4) For a time these payments were discontinued; in 1725 the Session "considering that they were at great charges in paying School fee for teaching poor children at private schools, and that these children were no better of their teaching" agreed that the poor scholars should attend the parish school; but later the Session resumed its support of the Adventurers and from 1721 to 1781 made regular payments to one adventure schoolmaster, this time at the rate of 1s a quarter. (5) The Kirk Sessions of Culross, Crail, Inverkeithing, Kirkcaldy, Saline, and Wemyss all made payments to Adventurers, both men and women, at various

1. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 6/10/1759. 2. MS. Aberdour K.S. 2/1/1718. A similar payment was made in 1720 to J.Tod, who taught "colliers and other poor". Ibid 3/12/1720. 3. MS. Kilrenny K.S. 13/11/1719 to 13/9/1720 passim and 10/7/1721 to 13/9/1722 passim. 4. Margaret Hay, Isobel Bisset, Daniel Clerk, & Mrs. Elder. Ibid 16/6/1719 to 20/10/1724 passim. 5. Ibid 11/11/1771 to 16/4/1781 passim.

times throughout the century. (1)

Of course in addition to the adventurers who were actively encouraged there were others who were tolerated, and still others who were warned off. In 1710, for example, the Town Council of Burntisland allowed Mr. David Christie, late schooldoctor in the Burgh School, "the liberty of a private school ... for to teach young children both male and female to read write and make counts, the male children not to exceed eight years of age". (2) In Kirkcaldy in 1742 the schoolmaster attributed the decay of his school, amongst other reasons, to the tolerating of private teachers - but the Town Council did not take any steps to put these private teachers down. (3) In Dunfermline over the century there is a notable shift from almost complete monopoly for the burgh teachers to almost complete freedom (subject to the usual control by the Kirk) for adventure teachers. In 1703 the Burgh schoolmaster complained that two private teachers had "att their own hand sett up private schools in this town, contrary to several acts of the Town Counsell ... to (his) great discouragement"; thereupon the Town Council forbade these teachers, "and other persones quhatsoever to sett up Schools within the territories of this burgh, and teach any male children hereafter, except such as shall be under seven years of age". (4) A little later, however, a number of private schools sprang up, and flourished without let or hindrance from the magistrates. From 1727 to 1745 a Mr. Francis Paterson "keyt a promiscuous school for boys and girls in the large room above the gateway of Queen Anne of Denmark's House", which he taught "with ability and success". (5) He was followed as teacher in this house by a

1. MS. Culross K.S. 25/12/1711; MS. Grail K.S. 22/8/1725; Stephen, History, pp.403,404; MS. Kirkcaldy K.S. 4/8/1724 to 16/5/1727 passim; MS. Saline K.S. 28/4/1754; MS. Wemyss K.S. 24/12/1775 & 1/2/1784. 2. MS. Burntisland B.R. 15/5/1710. 3. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 15/9/1742. 4. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 22/2/1703. 5. Annals of Dunfermline, 1727 & 1742. Mr. Paterson died in 1745 - (Index of Testaments, Comm. St.Andrews, p.265.)

Mr. Arthur Martin, an Episcopalian Minister - another successful school-master - and he by a Mr. Moir, editor of a Latin Dictionary. It is highly probable that these men professed more than "English reading", writing and arithmetic, but no account of the subjects taught in their schools has come down to us. Another Dunfermline adventure teacher's curriculum has, however, been preserved. In 1767 John Reid, sometime precentor in Ralph Erskine's Kirk, opened a school in the Horse Market "for teaching the usual branches of a useful education, besides which he taught land surveying, navigation, and the use of globes". He too was regarded as an eminently successful teacher, and attracted to his classes, which were between 80 and 100 strong, pupils from as far afield as Burntisland. (1) Another successful teacher was a Miss Goodlet, who opened a Sewing School in the Cross Wynd in 1764, and taught there 30 to 40 pupils. (2) And there were many others in the parish, and probably also in the burgh, in the second half of the century. There were, according to Henderson, 6 schools, private or adventure, in the parish in 1770; (3) by 1801 there were at least 23, eleven of them in the burgh; (4) yet although there were only 20 children attending the Burgh School in that year, neither Burgh School-master nor Town Council hinted that the adventure schoolmasters should close their schools. (5)

It is hardly to be doubted that the position in the other burghs was very similar, though unfortunately we have no accounts as full as these about their adventure schools. According to the Statistical Account, there were "several" private teachers in Inverkeithing in 1793, (and

1. Annals of Dunfermline, 1767 & 1816. He died on 23/12/1816, having taught for nearly 50 years. 2. Ibid 1764. 3. Ibid 1770. 4. MS. Dunfermline Pres; 7/10/1800; 25/11/1800; 3/2/1801; O.S.A., Dunfermline, & Annals, p.801. 5. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 10/11/1800.

at least two private schoolmasters in 1802); (1) two adventure schoolmasters and one schoolmistress in Culross; "several", with a total attendance of 230 children, in Dysart (and by 1801 at least five adventure schoolmasters); (2) "several" in Kirkcaldy - by 1801 at least three (with a total attendance of 250 children) (3) - and so on.

In the landward parishes prohibition of the adventure schoolmaster was sometimes found at the beginning of the century. In 1702, on the complaint of the Kirk Session of Largo that there were "some private schools that encroach upon the publick school", the Presbytery recommended that they should be closed; (4) in 1709 the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy ordered that private schools should be allowed "only in remote places" of Kinglassie parish; (5) and in Balmerino in 1721, on the complaint of the parish schoolmaster against the "private schools for learning children to read", the Kirk Session sent certain of their number to order the Adventurers to desist. (6) In 1729 Ceres Kirk Session "represented that Several private schools being kept (there) ... does greatly prejudice and discourage the publick and legal schoolmaster there, and that it was a great loss and Disadvantage to such as attended these schools in not being taught to read and write in a right manner"; and the Presbytery promised to help in suppressing them. (7) In 1733 the same Presbytery "did prohibit and discharge" two adventurers in Auchtermuchty "their teaching privately for the future". (8) By the end of the century, however, not only was there no attempt at suppression, but the numbers of adventure schools had obviously grown considerably. For example, in 1799 there were six private teachers

1. O.S.A. & MS. Dunfermline Pres. 16/3/1802. 2. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 2/12/1801.
3. Ibid 2/12/1801. 4. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 19/5/1702. 5. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres.
10/11/1709. 6. Campbell, Balmerino, p.449. 7. MS. Cupar Pres. 24/6/1729.
8. Ibid 16/1/1733.

in the parish of Balmerino, (1) six in Markinch, (2) and two in Wemyss. (3) There were four private teachers in Carnock (4) (which had a population of 860); and four in Kilconquhar, with a total roll of over 140. (5) In the Presbytery of Cupar, which affords the most complete lists, there were, in 1799, at least 51 Adventure teachers in 14 parishes - 14 of them in Ceres and 14 in Auchtermuchty. (6)

These non-parochial schools must have differed widely in accommodation, in quality of teaching, in the numbers taught and in the subjects offered. Very many were no doubt like the "two or three small schools" in Scoonie, "in which young children are taught to read English, at the very easy rate of 1d per week", (7) or the "three taught by women" in Ceres, with a total roll of 50 or 60 pupils. (8) Others were probably as well provided as many of the parochial schools - the "subscription schools" in particular, which were staffed by schoolmasters who received a salary, and who sometimes had a schoolhouse and school building. For example, in "the East and West ends" of St. Andrews parish there were schools for English, writing, and arithmetic, in houses that had been recently "rebuilt and repaired by subscription, with little aid from the Kirk Session"; and for the support of one of these, a "patriotic club of farmers in Boar-hills ... (had) formed a stock purse ... the proceeds of which were used for the encouragement of their schoolmaster". (9) By 1801 there were in the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy Subscription schools in Buckhaven (Wemyss parish),

1. MS. Cupar Pres. 22/10/1799. 2. O.S.A. Markinch. 3. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 17/12/1801. 4. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 7/4/1801. 5. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 21/12/1803 & 8/2/1804. 6. MS. Cupar Pres. 22/10/1799. 7. O.S.A. Scoonie. 8. O.S.A. Ceres. 9. O.S.A. St. Andrews.

Dysart, Kennoway, Leven (Scoonie parish), and Markinch. (1) There were also a certain number of schools maintained by public spirited landowners. In Markinch, for example, there was a private school at Coaltoun "under the immediate patronage of Lady Balgonie, who (had) built, at her own expense, a schoolhouse, and a house for the schoolmaster, and by the encouragement she (had) afforded and the personal attention she had paid to it, (had) greatly contributed to its prosperity and success". (2) In the same parish the Laird of Balbirnie paid the salary of another schoolmaster. (3) But probably none of the subscription schoolmasters or schoolmistresses did better than Miss Farquharson, of Culross - "a well accomplished female" who taught "with success English, French, writing (an uncommonly fine hand), arithmetic, geography & needlework. She (had) seven boarders, at £20 each per annum; and five day scholars, at 10s.6d per quarter". She had, that is to say, a gross income three times as great as that of a well paid parochial teacher, who usually had a wife and often six or seven children to support. (4)

How many children were taught in all the Adventure schools in the county at the end of the century is as impossible to compute as the total number of Adventure schools. But from the figures already given, it is clear that in the burghs far more children went to these schools than went to the burgh schools; in Dysart, for example, there were only 70 attending the burgh school against the 230 who were taught in the various adventure schools of

1. MS. Kirkealdy Pres. 2/12/1801 & 17/12/1801. Information about the subscription schools is scanty, particularly in the other Presbyteries. Note, however, the subscription school in Ceres "at which about 50 young persons attend throughout the year". O.S.A. Ceres. In Dalgety "so attentive are the colliers to give education to their children ... that for many years they have maintained a teacher by subscription as they are at a great distance from the parochial school". O.S.A. Dalgety. 2. O.S.A. Markinch. 3. MS. Kirkealdy Pres. 17/12/1801. 4. The total emoluments of the parish schoolmaster of Culross were about £45 - including some £27.12s of fees. O.S.A. Culross. Culross became a parish school during the century.

the parish. (1) But even in the landward parishes it is probable that at least as many children attended adventure schools as attended parochial schools. The two adventurers in Auchterderran taught 80 children, as against the 50 to 60 taught by the parochial schoolmaster; the adventure schoolmaster in Monimail taught 30 as against the somewhat fewer taught by the parochial schoolmaster; (2) and the "two or three" adventurers in Kilconquhar must have taught (to make any living at all) many more than the "30 to 40" who were taught by the parochial schoolmaster there. (3)

THE BURGH SCHOOLS.

We must now turn to consider the burgh schools of the county.

At the end of the seventeenth century, it will be remembered, there were twelve of these:- Cupar, Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, St. Andrews, Anstruther Wester, Burntisland, Crail, Culross, Dysart, Inverkeithing, Kinghorn, and Pittenweem. Anstruther Wester soon dropped out: after 1691 the Kirk Session became responsible for most, if not all, the schoolmaster's salary; and in 1700 they dismissed "their schoolmaster", being unable to pay his salary "owing to the poverty of the place". (4) Thereafter Anstruther Wester School was an ordinary parochial school; but one which in the early years of the nineteenth century provided a better living, it would seem, for its master than the, by then, Burgh School of Anstruther Easter. (5) Culross School was described in 1755 (and probably earlier) as "the burgh and parochial school"; (6) as was the school of Falkland in 1795. (7) In both these burghs after the middle of the century the schoolmaster was chosen by the heritors, and the Town Council paid a portion of his salary

1. O.S.A. Dysart. 2. The parochial master's total emoluments were only £14, which would not allow him, at the fees given, more than 25 pupils. 3. O.S.A. various parishes. 4. Anstruther Wester K.S. 1/5/1700, quoted Conolly, "Fifiana", p.199. 5. In 1829 & 1836 the burgh schoolmasters of Anstruther Easter were elected parish schoolmasters of Anstruther Wester. Anstruther W. Heritors, 5/12/1829 & 9/9/1836. 6. MS. Culross Heritors 25/3/1755. In 1700 "the Heritors, Kirk Session & Town Council could not agree about settling a schoolmaster". MS. Dunfermline Pres. 17/8/1700. 7. MS. Falkland Heritors. 8/7/1795.

and contributed (not always very willingly) to the upkeep of the school-building. (1) Pittenweem School, which we regarded as a parochial school from 1642 to 1664, and as a burgh school (since it was mainly under the control of the Town Council) from 1664, (2) came under the control of the Kirk Session and Heritors in 1746, when they appointed the schoolmaster. (3) The other schools remained, however, as full burgh schools throughout the eighteenth century: the heritors as such had no say in their government, and any powers the Kirk exercised over them (apart from the general supervision that the Presbyteries and Sessions always claimed to wield) were jealously limited. Where the burgh schoolmaster was also appointed session clerk, or where the school doctor was also the Session's "teacher of poor scholars", the Kirk had a right to be consulted; but such arrangements could be (and sometimes were) terminated by the Town Council when it seemed that with this excuse the Kirk was exceeding its authority. (4)

Of the indubitable burgh schools, first place continued to be held throughout the eighteenth century by those of Cupar, Dunfermline, St. Andrews, and Kirkcaldy. Their schoolmasters were paid the best salaries; they almost always had at least one doctor in the school, and often had more; and two of them attracted so many pupils that each was divided into a Grammar

1. In Falkland in 1793 the heritors claimed that "the school (i.e. the building) had always been kept by the burgh" (MS. Falkland Her. 11/4/1793); but the Town Council refused to pay half the cost of rebuilding the school, as the Heritors wanted - they offered £15, a sixth of the estimated cost. 2. See above, pp. 52 & 125. 3. Pittenweem provides a good example of the swing of control. In 1697 the Kirk Session paid "what the Magistrates are resting" of salary. (MS. Pittenweem K.S. 1/6/1697) In 1697 & 1699 the Town Council appointed the schoolmaster (MS. Pittenweem B.R. 19/6/1697 & 21/4/1699) In 1712 Minister, K.S. and Town Council appointed the master. (Ibid 24/10/1712) In 1721 the Town Council "desired the Minister to intimate a meeting of the heritors" to choose a schoolmaster. (Ibid 20/4/1721) In 1746 it was the K.S. with "the consent of the heritors" which elected the schoolmaster. MS. Pittenweem K.S. 2/9/1746. 4. See below, for example, the stand taken by Kinghorn Town Council when the Kirk Session dismissed Mr. Hunter.

(or Latin) School and an English School. All, however, had their ups and downs; and in none was the alternation between prosperity and decay more marked than in Cupar Burgh School.

When the century opened the master and the doctor in Cupar School had been in office for 30 years; and partly as a result of their old age and infirmity, and partly as a result of the low state of the town, the school had fallen away sadly, (1) which, as the Council pointed out, was "of great losse to the Youth both of the Town and Country about and a great prejudice to the inhabitants who sustained benefit by buirding of Gentlemen and other honest men's children". (2) When the two old teachers had been pensioned off, (3) and two young men had been appointed "at pleasure", the school's fortunes improved. In 1702 the Presbytery found "upon trial that the schoolers had made good proficiency; they were pleased with the Master's diligence, Method of Teaching, and Discipline"; and in 1713 the Town Council determined to employ a Schoolmistress "for teaching young Women in the Town", which they would hardly have done (for girls as well as boys were taught in the Grammar School) if the burgh school had not been in a sound condition. (4) In 1729 the Town Council of St. Andrews tried to entice the master of "the flourishing School" of Cupar to come to them by offering him a larger salary than he was getting, but failed - convincing demonstration of the improvement that had been effected. (5) For some years after this the school flourished, so that before 1758 a "second doctor" was appointed to the school; and from then until the school was divided into a "Latin School" and an "English School"

1. MS. Cupar B.R. 26/6/1706; 9/1/1706. In 1693 and again in 1702 the Magistrates found it very difficult to pay their schoolmaster's salary. Ibid 13/11/1693 & 4/5/1702. 2. Ibid 11/11/1706. 3. The master received £4 p.a. and "ane kyne's grass", his assistant £2 and the same amount of grazing. Ibid 16/12/1706. 4. Ibid 7/3/1713. 5. MS. St. Andrews B.R. 6/1/1729.

there were almost always three teachers on the staff. (1) But the school did not continue to thrive. In 1730 it was described by the recently appointed "Rector" (as the schoolmaster was now styled) as "decayed" - no doubt in some measure owing to the struggle that broke out between him and the Town Council. By 1795, however, it had to some extent recovered, and was "far too crowded" to be conveniently held in the old building - probably as a result of "the attention, ardour, and abilities", as the Statistical Account put it, of Mr. Bayne, the Latin master. (2)

The division of the Grammar School into two schools, which has just been mentioned, took place in 1788 and brought Cupar into line with St. Andrews and Dunfermline. For some time before this one of the doctors had been referred to as "the English Master", (3) and as early as 1761 the "second doctor" had been appointed to teach not Latin, but only "Writing English, Arithmetic, Book-keeping and Church Music". (4) Until the separation, however, the schoolmaster had power over the first and second doctor; but after 1788, when the "Town Council agreed to divide the present School by a stone wall, and to make two separate (sic) entrys thereto, one for Latin, and the other for English Schollars", he lost this control. (5) Mr. Robert Wiseman, who had been appointed "English Master" (i.e. doctor) by the schoolmaster in 1785, (6) was made the first schoolmaster of the new English school, at a salary considerably below that of the Latin schoolmaster. (7)

The English school was evidently a success: in 1791 the building was enlarged to take the large number of pupils, and two years later the Master's salary was increased "to enable him to keep an assistant". (8)

1. MS. Cupar B.R. 12/9/1758 & 15/12/1760. See also Appendix, Cupar Doctors. The Cupar T.C. Minutes for the period 1738 to 1758 have disappeared.
2. O.S.A. Cupar & MS. Cupar B.R. 2/4/1795. 3. MS. Cupar B.R. 5/1/1785.
4. Ibid 5/12/1761. 5. Ibid 12/8/1788. 6. Ibid 19/3/1785. 7. He had £12, against his colleague's £20 (raised later to £30) p.a. Ibid 21/10/1788.
8. Ibid 15/3/1791, 25/5/1791 & 25/2/1793.

Of the ten schoolmasters who served the Burgh (and later the Latin) school, between 1706 and 1802, five taught for periods of 12 years and upwards. (1) As was becoming increasingly common in the Fife Burgh Schools, none of the ten was a student of divinity - indeed in advertising a vacancy the Town Council declared that "such as have a view to the Ministry need not apply" (2) - several had held posts in other schools before coming to Cupar, and several left to go to other and presumably better posts. Mr. David Millar, after some hesitation, and because, it seems, of the treatment he received from an illegally constituted Town Council, (3) left to become schoolmaster of Kirkcaldy in 1724. (4) His successor in Cupar came from the school in Bridge of Earn, (5) and the next schoolmaster from the school of Prestonpans. (6) He in his turn became burgh schoolmaster of St. Andrews, (7) and was followed in Cupar by an ex-schoolmaster of Kirkcaldy, who resigned shortly to become master of Musselburgh. (8) Of the other masters, one came from Edinburgh (where he had been "a teacher of languages"), one from Aberdour (where he was the parish schoolmaster), one from the school of Kirkcudbright, and one from the school of Falkland. (9)

The methods the Town Council used to get in touch with these masters, and the conditions of service they offered them, varied. On three occasions - in 1763, 1775, and 1788 - but as far as is known, on three only,

1. Their periods of service were 17 years, 16 years, 4 years, 18 years, 1 year, 12 years, 13 years, 7 years, 5 months, and 7 years. See Appendix, Cupar Schoolmasters, for details. 2. MS. Cupar B.R. 12/8/1788. 3. "The late pretended Magistrates" as they were described by their successors. Ibid 13/9/1725. 4. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 18/11/1723 & 24/2/1724. 5. MS. Cupar B.R. 23/10/1724. Mair had been approached by the Kirkcaldy Magistrates the same year. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 27/1/1724. 6. MS. Cupar B.R. 24/4/1744. 7. Ibid 7/7/1762. 8. Ibid 7/7/1762 & 27/4/1763. "I would not have left them" (the Town Council of Cupar) "for a trifling advantage", he wrote. 9. See Appendix.

the Council advertised in the newspapers. (1) How they communicated the other vacancies to prospective dandidates we cannot say. And of seven schoolmasters whose conditions of appointment are known, the last three to be chosen were appointed "at pleasure", the first for six months trial (and thereafter possibly "ad vitam") and the remaining three "ad vitam aut culpam". (2) In making the appointments, too, the Town Council reserved to themselves (as their actions showed) the right to elect the school doctors; but in 1775 this right was surrendered to the schoolmaster.

Certain other important conditions of service - amount of school fees, hours of opening of the school, subjects to be taught, and so forth - will be made clear from the school regulations that are given later. Meantime, the very important matter of the schoolmaster's salary can be dismissed very briefly. From 1708 to 1725 it was £15, in 1726 £16, in 1788 £20, in 1791 £27, and in 1793 £30, (3) - paid quarterly after 1762, (4) and paid promptly. In addition, the Kirk Session seems to have made a small payment to the schoolmaster, but how much is not known. (5) Furthermore the schoolmaster had his share of the school fees, (6) and presumably a rent free house. His removal expenses to the town were paid by the burgh, (7) and when he retired, through old age, he received a pension - in 1788 equal to his salary. (8)

The doctors, who were drawn from places as near as Dairsie and as far as Aberdeen, (9) had periods of service varying from over twenty

1. MS. Cupar B.R. 27/4/1763; 8/4/1775 & 12/8/1788. In 1763 - "in the Edinburgh newspapers", in 1788 "in the Edinburgh Courant". 2. Ibid 13/11/1795, 5/5/1795, 21/10/1788; 22/1/1707; 13/3/1724, 7/7/1762, and 16/5/1763. 3. Ibid 1/9/1708, 10/3/1724, 11/1/1726, 21/10/1788, 25/11/1791 & 25/2/1793. 4. Ibid 2/12/1762. 5. On 14/3/1768 the Council "appointed Members of the Kirk Session to be prosecute" for the schoolmaster's "part of the sallary in use to be paid to Mr Noble and his predecessors". Ibid 14/3/1768. 6. See rules made in 1775, p. below. 7. MS. Cupar B.R. 23/3/1724, 27/4/1764, 3/7/1785. 8. Ibid 16/12/1706; 6/5/1788. 9. Mr. James Leighton, appointed in 1764, from Dairsie; Mr. James Ross, appointed in 1761, from Aberdeen.

years to less than one year. (1) Their posts were often advertised in the newspapers, (2) they were sometimes paid removal expenses, (3) and twice (if not more often) they retired on a pension from the Town Council. (4) But unlike the schoolmasters at least two of them were students of Divinity or licensed Ministers - indeed in 1764 the Town Council laid it down that it was "not to be a necessary qualification" (in the candidate for the first doctor's post) "that he give up the study of Divinity". (5) And of course their salaries were much smaller than those of their senior colleagues, ranging from £6.7s.2²/3d per annum in 1708, to £15 (for the first doctor) between 1761 and 1785. (6) The second doctor fared much worse; from 1767 to 1778 he received as little as £3 per annum, (7) with an additional allowance of £2 or £3, for "teaching Church music gratis" in the years between 1758 and 1779. (8)

The relations between Town Council and schoolmaster, his power to appoint and dismiss the school doctors, the exact division of authority between them and the schoolmaster, the sharing of the school fees and the "Hansel and Candle Money" (and no doubt the profits of the school cock fight, which was continued in Cupar until 1806) (9), were all matters that were liable to destroy that amity between the burgh teachers which the Town Council was eager to preserve. They were all matters which at one

1. Mr. James Leighton and probably Mr. John Gray; and Mr. Henry Dewar and Mr. David Millar. 2. In "the Gazette" in 1708 (Ibid 9/3/1708); and "in the newspapers in 1763 & 1772 (Ibid 19/8/1763, 29/4/1772). 3. Ibid 12/1/1761 & 28/10/1772. There is a considerable gap in the Burgh Records, so it is not improbable that this payment was made more often than we know. 4. Ibid 16/12/1706 & 19/3/1785. 5. Ibid 10/2/1764. The two divinity students were Mr. David Millar (on 3/5/1708) & Mr. James Leighton (on 10/2/1764). 6. MS. Cupar Pres. 1/9/1708 & MS. Cupar B.R. 29/6/1761 & 19/3/1785. 7. MS. Cupar B.R. 18/9/1767 & 22/7/1772. The second doctor appointed in 1772 remained until 1778. 8. Ibid 12/9/1758 (£2) & 13/1/1779 ("as in the past £3). In 1758 the Council allowed their second doctor "£5 sterling to indemnify himself for expense in qualifying himself in Church Music". 9. Ibid 1806.

time or another came before the Council. The appointment of the school doctor was in the hands of the Town Council down to 1775; in that year, however, new school regulations were adopted which transferred this power to the schoolmaster. The Council very soon repented their action. Their newly appointed schoolmaster, Mr. George Gray, declared that he was resolved to put his power to the test, and dismissed his second doctor, to the great annoyance of the majority of the Town Councillors, (1) who disapproved of "the very cruel and inhumane thing of raising a process against Mr Jasson ... for the purpose of superseding him without assigning any reasonable cause". (2) Mr. Gray won his case before the Court of Session, Mr. Jasson's dismissal was upheld, and the Town had to pay Mr. Gray £30 towards his expenses in raising the action. (3) Mr. Jasson's party on the Town Council, however, though they could not force him back on the schoolmaster, were able to give him considerable assistance; he was granted the use of the Lower Tolbooth "for teaching private scholars" till he was otherwise provided for; and allowed £3 per annum "for teaching Church Music to the inhabitants gratis". (4)

This was not the last clash between Mr. Gray and his employers. He had established his right to dismiss any school doctor who displeased him - and he exercised it twice in the next few years (5) - but he was not free to leave the vacant posts unfilled. In 1785 the Town Council protested "formally and legally" against the schoolmaster's failure to appoint "an English master" to fill a vacancy, and declared that if he did not make an appointment, they would. (6) And this time Mr. Gray gave in. (7)

1. Ibid 15/12/1777. 2. Ibid 23/11/1778. 3. Ibid 6/5/1788. Mr. Gray wanted a further £20, but did not get it. 4. Ibid 13/1/1779. 5. Ibid 4/11/1784 & 19/3/1785. 6. Ibid 5/1/1785. 7. Ibid 19/3/1785. The same day it was laid down that if one Master was inadequate for the number of "Latin scholars", the Town Council should have the power "to cause Mr Gray to appoint a Latin usher".

There were two more serious clashes between Town Council and schoolmaster in that century. The first had nothing to do with education at all; it might indeed have been cited as an example by Mr. George Gray when he declared (with some exaggeration, it must be added) that the "town of Cupar like most of the other Royal Burghs in Scotland has been all along ruined by violent partys in politics". (1) In 1725 both Mr. James Mair, the schoolmaster, and his assistant because they had been engaged by "the late pretended magistrates", were dismissed; Mr. Gray, the school doctor, had moreover "while schooldoctor ... become a Town Councillor and joined (in both these stations) and encouraged the late unhappy divisions, (and) did frequently neglect the school". (2) Both, however, were re-engaged within six months. (3)

The second dispute arose 40 years later; Mr. William Noble refused to accept the Council's Regulations for the government of the school. He would not permit the pupils under his care to "learn writing in the school in the forenoon"; and when he was "asked to take the taws made for his use ... he now took them and laid them on the Council table, refusing to accept of them". But though Mr. Noble was "suspended from his office and salary", the quarrel was patched up after a week. (4)

The division of the customary gifts made by the pupils to their teachers at New Year and Candlemas caused trouble in the school on at least one occasion. In 1774 the Town Council were informed of "the disputes among the school Doctors relating to the hansell Given by the Schoolars ... and a good many of the Members declaring that the practice when they was at the Schoole was, that the Schoolers divide their hansell among the school-

1. MS. Cupar B.R. 15/12/1777. 2. Ibid 13/9/1725. 3. Ibid 11/1/1726 & 17/3/1726. 4. Ibid 8/5/1765 & 15/5/1765.

masters as they thought proper ... The Council find that the School Boys still have it in their option to distribute their hanel, among the masters as they shall think fitt". (1) But when, the following year, the Town Council drew up a set of School Regulations, they ordered that the gifts should be divided in fixed proportions - so much to the Rector and so much to the doctor or the "English Master". (2)

The school regulations of 1775 that have just been mentioned were not the first the Council laid down for the guidance of their teachers. Ten years earlier others had been made, so unusually detailed in their treatment of corporal punishment that they are worth giving almost in full:-

"RULES FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

- 1) All three schoolmasters be provided each with a pair of Taws made of leather all bond leather or leather hardened in the fire being debarred.
- 2) All the masters be expresly debarred from hitting any of the School-boys with their hands feet or anyotherwayes except the leather whang or taws.
- 3) That the Rector alone be priviledged to chastise the Schooll Boyes (but not the Girls) on the Buttocks for Grievous offences whither committed within or without the schooll and not to exceed four striped or six at most.
- 4) That the rector and each of the Doctors be entitled to chastise the boyes under their own care and instruction for want of their lessons or other lesser faults with the Taws on the palm of the hand not exceeding three strokes at most.
- 5) That the rector shall at least once every week take up and examine the two under Doctor's Classes and know their proficiency and chastise the Boyes if deserving for negligence and shall teach the second Doctor's classes

in his absence so far as he has time.

6) In the Rector's absence the first Doctor shall have same authority in the school as the rector for punishing offences excepting chastising on the Buttocks, and shall have power to prescribe lessons to and hear the rector's classes in the same manner as he does ... and to examine second Doctor's classes when he is absent.

7) ... In absence of Rector and first Doctor, second Doctor shall have same authority...

8) That none of the Girls be at any time chastised by whipping even on the palm of the hand a Reproof being all allowed to be given them.

9) That the schoolmasters be enjoined to live in perfect amity and harmony among themselves ... as from their own divisions numberless evils prevail in the schooll the Boyes under each master's care ordinarily taking part with their own masters heating and Despising the other Masters on that account.

10) The whole schooll shall be dismissed 10 or 15 minutes each forenoon and afternoon and both the Doctors shall have power to give their own Scholars leave ... as they think necessary. That Writing shall be taught in the Publick school for half an hour before 12 in forenoon. The English scholars to be Dismissed at four afternoon in Winter and the Latin schollars to read till five.

11) That the scholars shall be placed upon both sides of the Desks in the Schooll and not all on one side, the Doctors to be acquainted when the play is given and to be given in the Publick schooll when convenient and the Latin masters to sett their scholars proper Tasks to be gott against next meeting." (1)

The clear evidence (in clauses 3 and 8) that girls as well as boys were taught in the Grammar School, and the instruction in clause 11 on the method of seating the pupils - the only instruction of this sort that is found in any of the extant Fife Burgh School rules - are perhaps the most interesting of the regulations. "The proper Tasks to be gott against the next Meeting" of clause 11 may be noted, for comparison with the much more explicit regulations drawn up by the Kirkcaldy Magistrates.

The Cupar School Regulations of 1775 need not be given in full. Clause 1 gave the Rector "superintending power and authority over the Usher and English Master", clause 2 gave him "sole power of correcting boyes only on the Posteriors", and clauses 6 and 7 laid down the rules for the division of the Hansel and Candlemas gifts, and the "giving of the play" - not more than one afternoon per fortnight. Other clauses, which indicate clearly the widening curriculum of the School, and set out the fees to be charged, are as follows:-

"3) The Rector to have no power to diminish the Usher or English Master's sellaries or School fees, which are Latine, writing and Geography - each scholar to pay 3s sterling per quarter, $\frac{2}{3}$ to the Rector, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the usher. If the scholars have Latin, French, principalls of Geometry, or the Mathematicks, (to pay) one shilling more ... per quarter, to the Rector.

If scholars have French, Geometry or the Mathematicks, they are to pay 4s per quarter, to the Rector.

4) Each scholar learning English, Arithmetic and Writing shall pay at least 1s.6d sterling per quarter, whereof $\frac{2}{3}$ to go to the English Master, and $\frac{1}{3}$ to the Rector". (1)

1. Ibid 1/5/1775. If the parents paid more than the minimum salary, "the overplus" was to be divided at the discretion of the parents.

It seems clear that the minimum of 1s.6d charged for "English, Arithmetic and writing" was an inclusive charge. If so, there had been a considerable increase in the charges by 1791, when the fees were English 1s.6d, writing 1s.6d, and arithmetic 2s - which even at that were regarded as "very low". (1)

Concerning the subjects taught in the school, it is possible that at the beginning of the century at least the teachers in the Burgh School infringed the monopoly which the Universities were attempting to establish by teaching Greek. In any event the doctor who was appointed in 1707 was declared to be "abundantly qualified to teach as Doctor both in Latin and Greek". (2) But we hear no more of this subject throughout the rest of the century. Instead we find alongside the re-introduced study of French, and the recently introduced study of Mathematics, two new subjects - Geography and Book-keeping, mentioned for the first time as part of the curriculum in 1763 and 1764. (3)

It is to be presumed that the hours of attendance (for which the school regulations give us little information) were similar in this school to those elsewhere in the county. The summer vacation - usually ushered in here as elsewhere by an entertainment for "the Gentlemen and Rector", (4) and very often preceded by an examination of the school by a Committee of the Presbytery, generally at the invitation of the School-master (5) - began about the end of August, and was probably, if Kinghorn

1. Ibid 8/8/1791. These fees were for the English School. 2. Ibid 5/7/1707. 3. Ibid 3/11/1763 & 10/2/1764. Grant (Burgh Schools) found Geography in Edinburgh High School in 1715, Book-keeping in Ayr in 1721. 4. This is the obvious inference to be drawn from the Town Council's decision, taken after their quarrel with Mr. Gray, that "The Town shall be at no expense at the vacation of the School by entertaining the Gentlemen, Rector, or otherwise". Ibid 1780 (Vol. X, p. 272). cf. Crail & Kirkcaldy. 5. MS. Cupar Pres. 29/7/1740, 23/7/1741, 20/7/1742, 17/7/1744, 30/7/1754, 6/9/1757 (reporting on a Visit), 7/9/1758, 14/8/1764, 13/8/1765, & MS. Cupar B.R. 31/8/1773 "to examine the school before it was dismissed for the Vacation".

and Kirkcaldy are any guide, some 4 to 6 weeks long.

In addition to the annual vacation, short breaks - "the play" - were of course, as we have seen from the School Regulations, common. How necessary it was to control the number of these that might be given is illustrated amusingly by the Town Council's Minute of 23rd September, 1720. "The schoolmasters of the ... burgh" they declared, "were often interrupted in the course of their teaching by several Gentlemen in Town and Country making Application unto them for obtaining of the play to their scholars. Whence it comes to pass that the masters are frequently obliged to break off their work in downright Hurry and Confusion to the great loss and detriment of those under their Inspection ... These applications are mostly occasioned by the Idly Inclined Youth themselves who on all occasions Importune Gentlemen to that effect". In order to curb the "Inclination" of the schoolboys "to Idleness and Rambling", which was "gratified and fed by such irregular and exorbitant diversions", the Council declared that in future the masters might only "grant the play" on the first Monday of each month "for the whole day". But there must still have been many breaks in the work of the school; for the masters were also permitted to give a holiday "upon the entering of any Scholar to the school ... also upon Publick Mercat days and other publick days". (1)

We have little information about the building from which the Idly Inclined Youth were so eager to escape. In 1726 the old school was "taken down and rebuilt from the foundations"; (2) the new building, which seems to have been kept in reasonable repair, (3) and which was divided by

1. MS. Cupar B.R. 23/9/1720. 2. Ibid 6/9/1726. 3. Repairs were minuted on 7/8/1774, 22/6/1787, 2/8/1788, 28/5/1790, 2/5/1792. The Burgh Records for 1730 to 1760 are missing, it will be remembered.

the erection of a wall in 1788, (1) had to serve the burgh for 80 years. (2) Beyond the fact that it had a Cupola, (3) and was furnished with a School clock, (4) we have no further information about its design, dimensions and the like, but presumably it did not differ greatly from the burgh schools of Dumfermline and St. Andrews.

But whatever the school itself was like, its immediate surroundings were far from pleasant - in the second half of the century at any rate. In 1780 the Rector wrote that "the passage from the East part of the burgh to the Barns stables and cornyards on the North West of the School is now quite shut up with meddings of Dung ... by which ... the Road for Carriages and Horses is thrown entirely upon the Entry to the publick school and thereby By horses galloping loose to and from the Water over the whole Alley and frequently around the school the Scholars are subjected to Continual hazard and danger of their lives". (5) It is to be hoped that after the Council ordered the removal of all the middens, sold the dung in the school alley, enclosed the school alley with "dikes on West and South side, and paved a Road of proper breadth for the children to go to school", the pupils were less exposed to accident. (6) But knowing the unpleasant state of other schools both burgh and parochial even as late as 1800, it is to be feared that neither the school itself nor its surroundings was particularly salubrious. (7)

1. Ibid 12/8/1788. 2. Ibid 5/3/1806. 3. Ibid 12/3/1788. 4. In 1711 the master & doctor bought a clock for the school, costing £16 Scots, & on the petition of the "scholars" the Town Council met the bill (Ibid 30/6/1711). In 1786 the Council refused to meet Mr. Gray's account for repairing the school clock - "he had done it ... in face of an Act of Council refusing to allow a penny". (Ibid 20/4/1786) 5. Ibid 22/5/1780. 6. Ibid 22/5/1780 & 12/6/1780, & 28/6/1793. 7. Do we perceive an approach to the belief in the virtues of fresh air in the Cupar Town Council's order (in 1792) that "New Windows were to be made to the School ... to be made to pull down from Top, and lower sash not to lift up"? Ibid 2/5/1792.

Compared with the school of Cupar, Dunfermline Burgh School was singularly uneventful in the eighteenth century. Between 1696 and 1800 there were only six schoolmasters: Mr. Patrick Dykes, who had been appointed before 1685 and who died in 1705; Mr. John Hart, who was appointed for a trial period of three months after the Town Council had rejected the patron's nominee, (1) and deposed for fornication a month after his appointment; Mr. James Graham, from Edinburgh, who was appointed in 1705, and died in 1708; Mr. James Bayne, who entered in 1708 and was schoolmaster in 1747; Mr. George Brown, who had been schooldoctor (and before that schoolmaster in Airth) and who remained until after 1768; and Mr. Alexander Ramsay, Member of the Church of Relief, whose admission in 1776 in the face of the Presbytery's protests, followed by the General Assembly's refusal to intervene, marked a considerable weakening of the Kirk's control over the appointment of burgh schoolmasters. (2) The right to present the schoolmaster remained, of course, with the heritable bailie of the Regality; but although he did not always choose the man the Town Council wanted at the beginning of the century - in 1704 they recommended John Hart to his Lordship, and "in case my lord be positive not to present John Hart, then ... they recommend Mr James Grame and do all they can to hinder any other to be schoolmaster"; nevertheless Lord Yester presented Mr. Alex Ker (3) - by the end of the century the patron was content to leave the choice to the Council. (4)

1. The nominee, Mr. Ker, was tried by a board chosen by the Town Council - Mr. Alex Dykes, Rector of School of Dalkeith; Mr. James Bayne, Schoolmaster of Musselburgh; Mr. James Grame, Minister of Dunfermline; Mr. McDougall and Mr. John Montgomerie, doctor of Medicine. Ker "gave no proof of his power to convey a clear notion to his boys, and was defective in his knowledge of Latin". MS. Dunfermline B.R. 24/2/1705 & 6/3/1705. 2. See Appendix, Dunfermline Schoolmasters, and above, p.243. 3. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 8/12/1704, 9/1/1705, & 29/1/1705. 4. O.S.A. Dunfermline. A little later (in 1810) it was formally intimated (perhaps re-intimated) that in future the patron would present "a competent person recommended by the Town Council". MS. Dunfermline B.R. 15/3/1810.

From 1691 until 1766 the schoolmaster's salary, which was paid partly out of the interest on Queen Anne's Mortification and partly out of the burgh's Common Good, remained unchanged at £140 Scots (£11.13s.4d sterling) per annum. (1) In the latter year Mr. George Brown, the Rector, petitioned the Presbytery for "a legal salary", which, he claimed, should be in addition to anything from the Mortification. The Town Council, in opposing his petition, declared that his salary of £140 had been regularly paid to him, that it exceeded the maximum salary under the Act of 1696, and that he had in addition "a very good free house, and other Advantages needless to mention", which made the "Place ... of more value than common or most of the neighbour Schools in This or any part of Scotland" - a claim supported by the Guildry, who added that his "dwelling house Byre and Yard (was) worth £5 Sterling at least of yearly Rent", and that he had 10 merks Scots yearly for poor scholars, "whether he teaches any or not, and beside the Schoolwages, Coal, Candle and other Perquisites, for the Scholars, and Board Wages for such of them as board in Petitioner's Family, for which Boarders the said School hath been much famed of old, and for Scholars of Note and Rank". (2) Nevertheless, the Presbytery agreed that the Rector's salary should be increased, "since Dunfermline is a large parish, and he is the only Grammar Schoolmaster". In future he was to receive, in addition to the Mortification, £133.6s.8d Scots (£100 Scots of it from the Heritors) (3) - i.e. he was to have about £17 sterling per annum. (4) In 1791 he had

1. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 20/3/1766 & 15/10/1766; & Appendix, "Report on the State of the Royal Burghs", Municipal Corporations Report, London 1835.
2. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 20/3/1766; 15/10/1766, & 19/11/1766. 3. Ibid 25/3/1767. 4. Assuming the Mortification to be worth about £70 Scots in 1760. In 1610 & 1640 it was worth £100 Scots, but it will be remembered that in 1665 the Sang Schoolmaster had his salary from the Mortification cut, and it is probable that the Grammar schoolmaster suffered too.

£ 17.17s.6d sterling - which was increased to £25 in 1800. (1)

Between 1704 and 1800 at least nine school doctors were engaged by the Town Council and Kirk Session, several of them (probably all) appointed "at pleasure". (2) Only one (Mr. John Hart, who taught from 1711 to 1745) remained for more than a few years in the school, a result no doubt of the poor salaries paid. (3) These salaries were provided, as we have seen, by Drysdale's Mortification of 1673, which provided only £12.7s per annum; (4) and it was in virtue of this Mortification that the Kirk Session continued to have a say in the choice of the doctor. There is some evidence that on occasion the Town Council grudged this diminution of their powers. In 1745, for example, they dismissed John Hart, "who was weakened by a palsy", without consulting the Session. The Session protested firmly, drew attention to the terms of Drysdale's Mortification, demanded an extract of the Town Council Minutes, and insisted on a voice in the election of Hart's successor - which, after some wrangling, was granted. (5) Thirty years later there was another dispute over the right to appoint the school doctors, and the Session once more established their claim. (6) Not that the Kirk Session always adhered to their obligations under the Mortification: in 1711 it required an appeal to the Presbytery to make them pay "the half of the annualrent owing to the doctor". (7)

Twice - and it is to be hoped only twice - the joint patrons made a very queer choice of doctor. In 1745 they chose Andrew Donaldson, only to dismiss him less than a year later because "his reason was

1. O.S.A. Dunfermline & Annals, 10/11/1800. 2. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 26/4/1711 & MS. Dunfermline K.S. 1/5/1746; 17/11/1748; 13/9/1750. 3. In 1745 the Kirk Session declared that "the stipend is but mean". MS. Dunfermline K.S. 14/2/1745. 4. O.S.A. Dunfermline. 5. MS. Dunfermline K.S. 11/2/1745 to 30/5/1745 passim. 6. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 11/12/1775. 7. Ibid 12/7/1711 & MS. Dunfermline K.S. 19/7/1711.

disordered". (1) That was perhaps bad luck. Twenty years later, however, the Kirk Session and Town Council re-elected Donaldson to the post, although as the Minister of Dunfermline reported, he had behaved "like a madman" in his two previous schools - "running through the fields with the school children after him". (2) In a very short time the Dunfermline parents began to withdraw their children from the Grammar School because of Donaldson's obvious insanity, and the schoolmaster appealed for him to be dismissed. But although the Kirk Session declared that Donaldson ought to be deposed, it was not until 1774, eight years later, that the Town Council dismissed him. (3)

It will be seen that the schoolmaster had power neither to engage nor to dismiss his school doctor; once, indeed, the joint patrons engaged as doctor a man whom the schoolmaster had declared "would be disagreeable to him". (4) What control the schoolmaster had over the doctor in the school, and what division of duties there was between them is unknown. Possibly because the right to appoint a schoolmaster was not in their hands, the Dunfermline Councillors do not seem to have exercised as close a control over the school as we meet in other burghs: they drew up no school regulations, apparently, and, although on one occasion in mid-century they tried two candidates for the doctorship in their reading of French, (5) they seem to have been content that the school should teach Latin and the Three Rs while more modern subjects were taught by the well thought of Adventure teachers in the burgh. In 1775 many of the townspeople were dissatisfied with the education

1. MS. Dunfermline K.S. 17/3/1746. 2. Ibid 8/10/1767. 3. Ibid 27/11/1768, & MS. Dunfermline B.R. 5/9/1774. 4. MS. Dunfermline K.S. 13/3/1746 & 1/5/1746. 5. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 30/4/1746. The other parts of this "comparative trial" are interesting. The candidates were "examined on several Latin classical authors, their method of instructing & turning English into Latine", were heard read the English language, and seen to write "in (the Council's) presence".

the burgh offered, and petitioned the Council "for a new plan for the Education of the youth of the Burgh", of which the only part (if it was a part) mentioned in the Burgh Records was an increase in the schoolmaster's salary. (1) But nothing much came of the "new plan", and by 1800 the roll of the Burgh School had fallen to 20 (from 60 ten years previously) not, according to the schoolmaster, "from any fault in him, but owing to the change of Mode of Education". (2)

That the school and schoolhouse which had been put up in 1625 served the burgh until 1817 may be a testimony to the excellent craftsmanship of the seventeenth century builders, or an indication that the eighteenth century Councillors were not greatly interested in the condition of the school. But But probably no re-building was done because none was necessary. At the beginning of the century, at least, the building seems to have been carefully tended. The "east chamber was refloored with new dealle"; the "vent in the school was cured fra reek", and "a lum was put up in the east gavile", between 1703 and 1714. (3) Why there was this unusual emphasis on the building of "reek free chimneys" - "to put up a chimney in the school, the mason to be obliged to make the lum free of reek or not get a farthing from it" was one of the Council's decisions (4) - is hard to say; but it encourages us to believe that the school room fires, provided out of the pupils' "coal money", added to the comfort, and not to the discomfort, of masters and children in the school.

The Dunfermline Sang School, like the Grammar School, continued to be paid for out of Queen Anne's Mortification; and, before 1719 and after 1741, the Music Master was also Session Clerk and Precentor, in that century as in the century before. (5) The Music Masters were, as we have seen, presented

1. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 19/9/1775 (quoted in Henderson's "Annals") & 10/1/1776.
2. Ibid 10/11/1800. 3. Ibid 22/5/1703; 26/4/1711; 21/8/1714. 4. Ibid 11/10/1712, & again on 5/4/1718. 5. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 7/2/1711; 24/10/1716; & MS. Dunfermline K.S. 19/9/1745, 23/10/1772; & O.S.A. Dunfermline.

by the heritable bailie of the Regality, and tried of course by the Presbytery, which was concerned not only with their knowledge of the ordinary subjects, but also with their skill in precenting. Until 1709 John Christie, who had been appointed in 1687, continued to hold the joint posts; then he was accused of drunkenness "and other scandals", and although the Presbytery found the charges unproven, was deprived of his Clerkship and Precentorship by the Dunfermline Kirk Session. (1) He continued as Music Master, however, until his death in 1716. (2) When a successor came to be appointed, the Town Council was quite content with John Craig, the nominee of the patron, although he was unable to teach arithmetic; (3) but the Presbytery would not accept him. Having elicited the suspicious fact that Craig had been married by an Episcopal Minister, they "communed with him anent the principles of Religion. They found him grossly ignorant, and having tried his reading, they found that he could not read on the Bible distinctly, or to a point, and read several words wrong in a part of a Chapter in the New Testament, and having tryed him as to writeing, they found him very insufficient, and being tryed as to his capacity of precenting in the Church, he declared that he could sing none of the Tunes without his boock ... (4) If the Presbytery's verdict was not strongly coloured by their disapproval of Craig's episcopal

1. The author of the scandals was Mr. Bayne, the Grammar Schoolmaster. (MS. Dunfermline Pres. 26/10/1709) Christie's answer to a charge of drinking on the Sabbath ("betwixt eleven and twelve at night") is interesting. "I went after supper to that young man's house, and drank with him in great sobriety and came home in good time; and the reason was, his father was my countryman, and he my scholar, and had received his orders that morning to goe off the country the next morning; so that if I had not seen him that night, I was not sure of ever seeing him again". In 1711 the Presbytery refused to restore Christie to the Precentorship - Ibid 7/2/1711. 2. He died between Martinmas 1715 and Whit 1716 - MS. Dunfermline B.R. 22/2/1717. 3. Ibid 18/9/1716. Arithmetic was to be taught by John Brand until Craig was qualified.
4. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 24/10/1716.

leanings, patron and Town Council were reprehensibly careless in choosing him to fill an important post.

The vacant post of precentor was filled by John Brand, who presented until 1729; but Craig was paid as Music Master until 1720; and thereafter the Sang School seems to have been vacant until 1734 or thereabouts. (1) Some time before August 1841 Alexander Scott was appointed; he received removal expenses from Aberdeen. In 1745 Andrew Beveridge succeeded him; in addition to English and Arithmetic and Church Music, he was to teach not "the virginalls and monicords" like his predecessor, but the violin and flute. (2) James Bain succeeded Beveridge in 1772 as Music Master, Precentor, and Session Clerk, and was himself succeeded (in 1776) by James Christie, who had been schoolmaster of Kennoway. Christie continued to be Music Master until his death in 1817. (3)

The Music Masters had salaries of £5 (4) per annum from the Mortification, a sum (worth £1.6s.4d in 1717, £1.13s.4d in 1718, and £5.11s.11¹/₃ sterling in 1843) from feu duties and teinds of the lordship of Dunfermline, (5) and as Session Clerks a further payment (in 1745 £1) (6) each year, in addition to his share of the fees for keeping the Registers of Baptism and Marriages - which in a large parish like Dunfermline would be considerable - some £10 to £15 per annum. (7) They had also, of course, their school fees; but since we do not know how many pupils attended their schools, it is impossible to say how much these amounted to.

1. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 23/2/1720, 16/2/1723, 7/11/1724, 4/9/1725, 27/11/1729 & 19/10/1734. 2. Ibid 2/8/1745. 3. See Appendix, Dunfermline Masters of Sang School. 4. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 18/9/1716 & O.S.A. Dunfermline. 5. Chalmers, History of Dunfermline, p.440, & MS. Dunfermline B.R. 26/2/1717 & 3/5/1718 - "the town shall pay to the Musick Master £5 Scots for each boll of bear that said land (Adie's half acre and hally blood acre) payed formerly". 6. MS. Dunfermline K.S. 19/9/1745. 7. The Session Clerk received half of the fees; the other half was divided between the two beadles. The average number of baptisms was 280, and of marriages 70, for a number of years before 1793. O.S.A. Dunfermline.

Kirkcaldy Burgh School - in so many respects, as we shall see, like the Burgh Schools of Cupar and Dunfermline - was in one respect very different from either: in the very close co-operation between Town Council and Kirk Session in the running of the school. As in Cupar, the Town Council had the sole right to appoint both master and doctor; a right challenged once by the Kirk, and sharply rejected. (1) Moreover the Town Council claimed the right to appoint the Precentor to the Parish Kirk, (2) and, as we have seen, awarded a portion of the "Kirk dues" or casualties to the Schoolmasters. (3) This might seem to have increased the probability of friction between Kirk Session and Town Council; but apart from that brush at the beginning of the century, their relations, in educational matters at least, were friendly. Magistrates and Kirk Session drew up the School Regulations of 1705; and the Town Council regularly consulted the Kirk Session or Ministers on the choice of a school doctor, and on matters connected with discipline and good teaching in the school. (4)

Was the Town Council's obvious desire to have the Kirk's assistance in the choice of school doctors and the trial of candidates for the schoolmastership (5) after 1707 due to the unfortunate choice of schoolmaster which they made when they refused the Kirk Session's interference in

1. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 26/8/1707. "The Town Council consider the Session entirely wrong in interfering with ... the Town's right and property, who has the sole & entier right ... of presenting and inputting a schoolmaster, as has and will appeir by many standing Acts of the Councill, before & since the Reformation". The dispute had its comic side. As a retaliatory measure the Town Council ordered the parish minister to remove his cow from the grave yard, where, the Council said, it had "turned up the grave of the late Mr Jackson (ex-schoolmaster) and others". 2. Ibid 26/8/1707. 3. Ibid 22/9/1707 & MS. Kirkcaldy K.S. 2/5/1769, & above, p.125. 4. e.g. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 17/11/1718; 5/9/1720; 23/7/1723; 15/9/1742; 7/3/1748 & MS. Kirkcaldy K.S. 2/5/1769. 5. e.g. in 9/8/1762.

that year? Mr. John Dorward, late doctor of the Canongate High School, who was appointed then - "during pleasure", but later "during his life time or a fault" - to teach Latin, Arithmetic, and English (1), was ordered "to amend and be more carefull", and reduced once more to being an "at pleasure" schoolmaster in 1720, (2) and was demoted to schooldoctor in 1723. (3) In that post he remained until 1742; but by then he had become a sore trial to the Burgh Schoolmaster, who declared that "the present decay of the publick school" was "in a great measure owing to the incapacity of Mr Dorward". (4)

Between 1723, when Mr. Dorward ceased to be schoolmaster, and 1815 there were only four burgh schoolmasters:- Mr. David Millar, from Cupar Grammar School, who died in harness in 1751; Mr. John Murray, "teacher of a private school in Edinburgh", who left to become master of Cupar Grammar School in 1762; Mr. John Dougall, master of Falkland School, who resigned on pension in 1787; and Mr. John Hume, who resigned in 1815. (5) The first three were appointed "ad vitam aut culpam", and Messrs. Murray and Dougall on condition that they did not "enter on trials as preachers". (6) Their salaries showed a steady increase until 1790: £3.6s.8d in 1707, £16.13s.4d in 1723, and £35 in 1787. (7) In 1790, however, the salary was cut to £20 per year. (8) The school fees likewise increased slowly throughout the period. In 1707 they were 2s per quarter for Latin or Arithmetic; in 1724, 2s.6d for Latin (and possibly the same for Arithmetic); and in 1790, 2s.6d for Arithmetic, and 3s.6d for "other high branches", giving the schoolmaster an income of about £50 per annum. (9)

1. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 22/9/1707 & 15/8/1720 (referring to an Act of Council on 22/10/1711.) 2. Ibid 15/8/1720 & 5/9/1720. 3. Ibid 9/9/1723. 4. Macbean, p.266. 5. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 23/3/1724; 10/6/1751; 31/7/1751; 9/8/1762; 21/3/1787; 30/6/1788 & 29/12/1815. 6. Ibid 31/7/1751 & 9/8/1762. 7. Ibid 22/9/1707; 7/10/1723 & 31/7/1751; 1/4/1787. 8. Ibid 23/8/1790. 9. Ibid 18/8/1707; 27/7/1724; & 23/8/1790: & O.S.A. Kirkcaldy.

These fees did not all come to the schoolmaster: during the greater part of the century he was assisted (or hindered, as Mr. Miller declared) by a schooldoctor, who taught certain classes or certain subjects - the allocation of duties between the schoolmaster and his under teacher was changed, as we shall see from the School Regulations, between 1705 and 1785. For his share of the work the schooldoctor, like his predecessors in the seventeenth century, received a salary from the Town (100 merks Scots between 1725 and 1742) (1), and one third of the school fees from the schoolmaster. (2) (But in 1790 there was a partial separation of the departments in the school taught by doctor and schoolmaster; the pupils under the doctor paid one scale of fees, those under the master, another.) (3) And since the schooldoctor, until 1770, was also Precentor and Session Clerk, he had also his salary from the Kirk Session, and the "casualties of baptism and marriage". Under a most unusual arrangement, however, the casualties were shared with the schoolmaster, in the proportion of two-fifths to the schoolmaster and three-fifths to the clerk. (4) In the first half of the century these arrangements seem to have been satisfactory to the doctor. From 1707 to 1759 there were only four holders of the post: Mr. Johnstone, who died in service in 1723; Mr. Dorward, who taught from then till his demission in 1742; Mr. Paterson, who succeeded him and was dismissed from his Clerkship ("for swearing and several other offences") and then from the doctorship in 1748; and Mr. John Hay, who taught from then until after 1759. (5) Dorward and Hay, and probably Johnstone and Paterson too, had "ad vitam aut culpam" appointments; (6) and Paterson and Hay, and

1. Ibid 8/3/1725 & 1/11/1742. 2. Ibid 22/9/1707; 9/9/1723; 30/5/1748.
3. Ibid 23/8/1790. 4. MS. Kirkealdy K.S. 2/5/1769. 5. See Appendix, Kirkealdy doctors, for references. 6. MS. Kirkealdy B.R. 9/9/1723 & 30/5/1748. After Paterson was dismissed from being Session Clerk, he was asked if he would demit from the doctorship. He refused, but submitted himself to the Council. Ibid 11/1/1748 & 15/2/1748.

possibly the others, were appointed after consultation with the Kirk Session. (1)

After the appointment of Mr. John Dougall as schoolmaster, the school was sometimes without a doctor; and when there was one, his relations with the schoolmaster were not always very happy. It is probable that the appointment of Mr. Dougall as Session Clerk in 1770, (2) so reducing the doctor's income considerably, had something to do with this. Whatever the reason, the post was often vacant. In 1775 Mr. Dougall, on the resignation of "the present doctor", was allowed to install his son "to supply the school doctor's place in the meantime"; but three years later it was reported that the "Grammar School has wanted an assistant for some time back" and that "many of the inhabitants are complaining that their children is (sic) not properly attended to". (3) Not long after a new doctor (Mr. Law) had been found, he informed the Council that "the Emoluments of his office were insufficient to support him" and that he was obliged to hand over to Mr. Dougall "one third of the profits of his private teaching in terms of an Act of Council". (4) In 1783 Law's successor, Robert Robertson, spoke to the Town Council "of some irregularity in the Management of the Grammar School, and that Mr Dougall (did) not pay him the fees of the school". (5) No doubt these complaints encouraged the Magistrates to draw up the new school regulations of 1785; and they may have been partly responsible for the plan to "divide the School, or find a separate house" (i.e. place for the doctor's - or English master's - school) after Robertson's demission in 1786. (6)

It seems that from 1786 to 1790 the Town Council left the doctor's post unfilled; and that the gap so created in the burgh's school sys-

1. Ibid 15/9/1742 & 7/3/1748. 2. MS. Kirkcaldy K.S. 2/5/1769. 3. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 20/11/1775 & 7/10/1778. 4. Ibid 22/1/1781. 5. Ibid 15/12/1783. The Town Council "seeing he gives general satisfaction", granted him £3.
6. Ibid 17/4/1786.

tem was supplied by a subscription schoolmaster. But in 1790 he gave up his school, and "the subscribers to the private school" petitioned the Magistrates and Town Council "to take proper steps to have the public school supplied with another Teacher". The Council revived their plan for "dividing the Education to be taught by each master", and appointed a second Teacher, as the doctor was now called. In future the Rector was to teach Arithmetic and "other high branches"; (1) he was not to teach English or Writing. The Second Teacher was to teach only "English, Writing, and Church Music"; and it was calculated that with his salary of £10 he would have a total income of £30 to £40 per annum. (2) This plan was carried out, and after 1790 "the two masters ... (taught) in separate rooms, and without any dependence one on the other". (3)

At the "comparative trial" for the post of Second Master, in 1790, it is interesting to note, the candidates not only "sung a tune of Music", but also read "a passage from Milton, and from the Spectator". (4) And neither the doctor who was chosen then, nor his successor, was appointed for life: each was appointed for three years only. (5)

Beyond the fact that a new school was built in 1725, paid for by the gift of "a half year's stipend" from the Barons of the Exchequer, and consisting of two storeys with two garrets, nothing is known of the accommodation provided for the teachers and their pupils. (6) But no doubt it did not differ in essentials from what was to be found in the other Fife Grammar Schools. But thanks to two very detailed sets of School regulations, we can

1. The "other high branches" were "Latin, French, Book-keeping etc." - O.S.A. Kirkcaldy. 2. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 19/8/1790, 23/8/1790, & 14/9/1790. 3. O.S.A. Kirkcaldy. 4. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 14/9/1790. The candidates for the post came from Kincardine, from Ayr, and from Fossoway. 5. Ibid 20/9/1790 & 29/8/1791. 6. Ibid 8/3/1725. Note, however, that in 1790 "the two lower panes of the window to be wood instead of glass". Ibid 23/8/1790.

form a very clear idea of the organisation, the hours of work, and the curriculum, and a fair notion of the methods of instruction employed in the Burgh School.

The first regulations were "agreed by the Magistrates, Ministers, Town Council, and Kirk Session" and were drawn up in 1705. They are as follows:-

"1) Summer and winter, Doctor and schollars to meet in the schoole at 7 o'clock in the morning, and the Master at half an hour past seven. They are to stay until nyne; except on Tuesday, when they are to be dismissed a quarter of an hour before nyne that they may convene at the schoole at the ringing of the bell, and go in order to the church with the Master, where they are to sit in the seats appointed for them and the rest of the weekdays the Master and Scholars are to return to the schoole at ten, where they are to stay till 12, and after dinner both summer and winter masters and scholars are to meet at 2 and to continue till 6 at night, except upon Tuesday and Thursday when the scholars are allowed to play from 4 in the Afternoon, as upon Saturday from 12 o'clock: and then they are discharged from playing in the Town, Church Yard, in boats or shipes, or anyways in the Sea, as also from throwing stones, or playing with the carrock (1) on the streets, or from playing anywhere out of their houses after the 8 o'clock bell at night, either summer or winter. And that upon the Lord's day, the Master shall meet with the schollars at the ringing of the second bell forenoon and afternoon, and conduct them to their seats in the Church, and bring them back in the Afternoon to the school to be examined, and to dismiss them with prayer, reading of Scripture, and singing a part of a psalme except when there is

1. Shinty or hockey.

evening exercise in the Church, and then the Master is to see the scholars attend punctually the examination; and all the rest of the dayes of the week the Master is to begin and end the day with prayer; and alwise to come and goe betwixt his house and the schoole through the streets and not through his own yard nor kirkyard.

2do) As to religion, the Master and Doctor are to give an holy example in a sober and circumspect walk and conversation, and are to take pains to instruct the scholars in the fear of God and the principles of the true reformed Religion established among us; they are to teach and exhort them to pray, to read the Scriptures, and Confession of Faith, and to gitt the Shorter Catechisme by heart, which two of them are to repeat in the Church every Lord's day betwixt the second and last bell; and the Master is strictly to discharge all lying, swearing, and Sabbath breaking, either out of the church or in it, all obscene speech, and all manner of immoralitie, and incivilitie, and to appoint captors to observe the guiltie that they may be punished.

3tio) As to learning, that the Schoolmaster and Doctor shall attend every dyet, and accuratly examine every class, and such as are anything advanced, shall learne besides the Rudiments and Grammar, prose or poeticall authors as they are capable, as Corder; Dialog; Sacr; Confess: Fidei; Colloq; Erasm; Buchanans Cronicles & Psalms, Terent; Horace & Virgil; Juvenal; and Curtius etc. (1) some for their ordinary, and others for their sacred lessons. And the Master shall be obledged to give theams to them who have learned their rudiments once in the week, and twice in the week to them who have learned their first part, and thrice in the week to them who have learned their second

1. Corderius - Sacred Dialogues; Confession of Faith; Colloquies of Erasmus; Buchanan's Chronicles & Psalms etc. ? Curtius - Q. Curtius Rufus, author of Historia Alexandri Magni. cf. Course in Glasgow High School - Grant, p.330 ff.

part, and as many versions to each of these as the Master shall think fitt, and that every day all the scholars shall have coppies to writte by, betwixt 10 and 11 in the forenoon. The Master also shall be obledged to cause them that are learning latine to have a repetition of all their weekly pence upon what they have learned that week in their Grammar Rudiments each Friday night and a repetition of their authors each Saturdays morning; and all shall dispute before twelve o'clock, and the victor be rewarded as the Master pleases; and that every quarter of year they repeat the rules of the Grammar, and verse authors that they have learned for that quarter, and every year at the visitation before the vacance, some in the first class shall declaime Orations before the Magistrates, Ministers and Elders; and all of them shall be peremptorly ordered to speake latine to one another both in the schools and out of it, and captors appointed in every class strictly to observe such as speak english that they may be corrected: and that such as learne ~~English~~ get frequent lessons in reading print and bills, and in their arithmeticke.

4) As to discipline, That upon Munday and Saturday the catalogue shall be read, and the captors examined what faults they have found in any of the scholars, that they may be duely corrected, and that there shall be a privy censor who is to take notice of the faithfulness of all the publick captors and privatly to acquaint the Master who is impartially yet in measure, and not in passion to obastise the faultie, after due examination of their faults, according to their demerits, and in caise any shall disobey their Masters, and not give them due defference; then the Magistrates and Minister or any of them shall come to the Schools, and see such scholars condingly (sic) punished for a terroure to others: As also the Masters shall not take upon them (if in health) to be absent from the schoole a whole day together without allowance from one of the Magistrates or Ministers. And they shall be obledged strictly to observe all the fore-

said rules and Acts under the pain of suspension from their office, As also there shall be a visitation of the schools once a year, in the beginning of September or thereby, by the Magistrates and Ministers with some others as shall be appointed by the Council and session for that effect, and then the Masters shall examine the classe and they themselves be enquired anent the observance of all these rules.

5to) And for the Master's encouragement the Magistrates are to obledge the inhabitants of this Burgh to send their children about the years of seven or eight to the grammar school; and they are to discharge all private schooles except women schooles for learning English. And in order to have these rules put in practise thir presents are to be recorded in the books of Town Council and Kirk Session and a copy is to be delivered to the Masters of the schoole." (1)

The second set of School regulations was drawn up (this time, it seems, without the assistance of the Kirk Session) in 1785. Clause 4, which is concerned with the organisation of Arithmetic teaching, Clause 6, with its indication of what were considered the essential points in the teaching of (advanced) reading, and Clause 8, which excludes "Mathematics" (of which Arithmetic is not considered a part) from the curriculum, are the most interesting parts of these rules:-

"1st) That both masters shall attend at the appointed hours of conveening viz 9 o'clock in the morning and 2 in the afternoon.

2nd) That the business of the day shall begin with Prayer and then the Catalogue shall be called and the absents obliged to assign satisfactory reasons for their absence or be subjected to such censure as may be judged proper.

- 3rd) That none shall be permitted to go out or withdraw themselves from their classes during the publick hours of teaching without liberty asked and obtained of their respective masters. Neither allowed to consume time unnecessary without doors or to injure one another.
- 4th) That besides teaching English and Writing the School Doctor shall take charge of beginners in Arithmetic till they understand addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. The other branches of that Science reserved to the Rector.
- 5th) To prevent as far as possible unseasonable Interference it is proposed that the first hour or thereby in the morning be dedicated to writing, Latin scholars occupied in themes and versions and all advanced Arithmeticians under the immediate inspection of the Rector. The next to be superintended by the doctor but all accountable to the Rector for progress diligence and success.
- 6th) That all Latin scholars, advanced English ones and Arithmeticians shall read a portion of the Sacred scriptures every day upon convening the School in the afternoon and shall have Pronunciation Syllabication Points and Parts of Speech strictly attended to.
- 7th) That the whole school of whatever class or denomination under Tuition or Instruction of the doctor shall be under the general inspection of the Rector as to their progress and advancement in their various lines of study as also with respect to their moralls and good behaviour.
- 8th) That mensuration Logarithms Algebra Trigonometry and other branches of Mathematics shall not on any account be taught in publick school hours.
- 9th) That some part of the forenoon of every Saturday shall be employed in Catechising the scholars and instructing them in the principles of Religion.

10th) That both masters shall mutually assist each other in establishing and maintaining good order and discipline and authority.

11th) That four Quarter days shall be fixed viz 1st Wednesday of February 1st Wednesday of May 1st Wednesday of August and first Wednesday of November of which intimation shall be given in the school Wednesday preceding. On these days the quarter dues shall be paid to the Rector in presence of the Doctor whose proportion shall be instantly paid him and the Rector shall at least twice in the year settle with and pay the Doctor his proportion of any arrears of Quarter dues." (1)

It will be remembered that on one occasion the Cupar Town Council had refused to pay anything for "entertaining the gentlemen at the giving of the vacance", so indicating fairly clearly that such entertainments were common. It is probable that in Kirkcaldy too the summer holiday was ushered in with some junketing; but only one reference to "entertainment to the scholars" is made in the Council Minutes; and that has a mild Falstaffian ring with its 7d for "Rolls and biscuits" to its 12s.4d for 7 bottles of wine. (2) On at least one occasion, too, the vacation was ushered in with a dramatic performance - the presentation of a piece, composed by the schoolmaster, called "The Royal Council for Advice; or The Regular Education of Boys the Foundation of all other National Improvements". (3) How this edifying piece was received we do not know; but its presentation shows that Mr. Coldstream of Crail was not the only Fife schoolmaster with an active interest in -it must be admitted, a very decorous - drama.

1. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 5/12/1735. 2. Ibid 10/11/1735. The other items were:- 11 lb. Raisins, 5s.6d, and 1 lb. almonds, 1s.2d. 3. In August 1734; Grant, Burgh Schools, p.414.

The last of the burgh schools which we shall consider in detail, that of St. Andrews, need not detain us long. No school regulations from the eighteenth century have survived, (1) though it can hardly be doubted that they existed; the school was not rebuilt, though it was repaired on several occasions; (2) there were no quarrels with Presbytery or Kirk Session over the control of the school; and, although the town was "greatly decayed", as we have seen, during the first half of the century, the school was never in any danger either of passing out of the Town Council's control or of ceasing to attract a sufficient number of pupils. At one time, it is true, the Magistrates laid a heavy burden upon themselves when they retired their infirm and aged schoolmaster on his full salary of 250 merks Scots (£13.17s.9d Sterling) (3) with the result that they were not able to offer any salary to his successor, and had to call for "a voluntary contribution" to give a "suitable encouragement for an able, well qualified master". (4) This minor crisis was surmounted, however: Mr. James Angus, who was appointed in 1723, was the Keeper of the University Library, and seems to have held that post while he was schoolmaster; (5) in addition he was appointed Precentor of the Parish Kirk; and as a pluralist was prepared to stay in the school for five years. By 1729 the Council was able to offer a salary of £20. (6) At that figure it remained until 1752; thereafter it was £16.13s.4d with a free house (7) until 1792, when it was increased to £25. (8) Moreover, as early as 1752 the increase in the number of pupils at the school made it "absolutely necessary", in the

1. If we except the Council's 1720 rules on school hours and giving of the play. MS. St. Andrews B.R. 10/10/1720. 2. Ibid 23/9/1747; 17/10/1759; August 1762; and 26/9/1787 (when £62 sterling was to be paid for "plaster to the roof, floor to be laid, new benches"). 3. Ibid 16/11/1723. 4. Ibid 19/10/1728. 5. In 1728 the Provost asked Angus, the schoolmaster, whether he would "take himself to the Bussiness of the University or that of attending on the School". Ibid 19/10/1728. 6. Ibid 6/1/1729. 7. Ibid 23/6/1762; 17/7/1786 & 6/12/1791. 8. Ibid 7/3/1792.

schoolmaster's phrase, "to have another doctor" (1) - and that increase in spite of the existence of a separate "English School" also maintained by the Town Council.

Of the seven schoolmasters appointed in the eighteenth century, six held life appointments. (2) The seventh, Mr. Arde, was an "expectant" - the only candidate for the ministry among the seven - and he was asked to "give up the Ministry at least for a certain time" on being appointed. (3) In making many life appointments, and hesitating to choose expectants, or students of Divinity, the St. Andrews Magistrates were conforming to the usual practice of the Fife Town Councils, as they were in drawing their schoolmasters from far and near. Mr. Richard Dick, appointed in 1740, had been schooldoctor of Haddington; Mr. Halket (1762-1787) had been schoolmaster of Cupar; Mr. William Dick (1786-1790) had been schoolmaster of Duns (he left St. Andrews to become schoolmaster of Perth); and Mr. Mowat (1791-1814) had been schoolmaster of Kirriemuir; (4) and in 1762 the Town Council invited the schoolmaster of Maybole to teach their school. (5)

The circumstances of this invitation, like the terms of Mr. Campbell's demission in 1729, are however quite unusual. In 1762 the Council was informed that the Earl of Cassells would present the St. Andrews schoolmaster, Mr. Richard Dick, to the Chair of Civil History in United College - but only if Mr. Doig, schoolmaster of Maybole, were appointed in Dick's place. (6) When the Town Council agreed, they were virtually handing over their patronage of the burgh School. On the other hand in 1740 they were able to use the Pres-

1. Ibid 27/9/1752. 2. The terms of appointment of Messrs. Angus, Halket, Dick, and Mowat are extant, and include an ad vitam clause. Messrs. Campbell and Dick were able to bargain with the Town Council concerning their demissions after terms of 11 and 23 years respectively - they obviously had life appointments too. See Appendix for references. 3. MS. St. Andrews B.R. 6/12/1790. 4. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 4/6/1740, & MS. St. Andrews B.R. 23/6/1762; 17/7/1786; 11/10/1790; & 11/1/1791. 5. MS. St. Andrews B.R. 12/3/1762. 6. Ibid.

bytery as a convenient pension paying body. Their schoolmaster, Mr. John Campbell, had agreed to resign if he were made Presbytery Clerk; and the Presbytery, surprisingly, accepted the Town Council's petition that they should do so. (1)

For most of the century the Burgh Schoolmasters were assisted by a doctor - and for a time after 1752 by two doctors (2) - ~~even~~ whose appointment they had a considerable say. (3) Usually the doctors were appointed at pleasure, but there was at least one "ad vitam" appointment, in 1754. (4) Three of them were Students of Divinity. (5) Few doctors remained long in the post - there were 13 between 1739 and 1767; not very surprising, since for most of the century the salary was £7 a year, rising to £11 in the years 1755 to 1763, then falling to £7, and even in 1805 reaching only £9. (6) In addition to his salary, the first doctor had one third of the school fees. The second doctor, on the other hand, had only his salary of £7 a year. (7) This, in the middle of the century, must have provided a very meagre living.

Until 1714, and for some time thereafter, the functions of an "English School" were carried out in St. Andrews, as in most of the lesser burghs, by the Grammar School, the "elementary branches" being in the hands of the school doctor. In that year a doctor was appointed "to teach the

1. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 26/3/1740 & 23/4/1740. 2. See Appendix, St. Andrews Doctors, for details. A "second doctor" was appointed 27/9/1752; there was a second doctor on 20/7/1757. 3. In 1747 Mr. Dick informed the Council that he was "well pleased with Walter Manuel, at present acting as doctor, ... and the Town Council appoint Walter Manuel as from 23 December last". MS. St. Andrews B.R. 23/9/1747. On 29/6/1750, 3/7/1752, & 17/5/1764 the doctor was appointed on the schoolmaster's recommendation. Ibid sub anno. 4. Of the six doctors whose conditions of appointment are known, five had "at pleasure" appointments. Ibid 29/6/1750; 3/7/1752; 22/7/1755; 4/3/1763; 17/5/1764. Ad vitam appointment 7/3/1754. 5. Tayler, Douglas, & Ireland - Ibid 29/6/1750; 4/3/1763; & MS. Dunfermline Pres. 27/3/1793. 6. MS. St. Andrews B.R. 10/10/1743; 7/10/1745; 3/7/1752; 22/7/1755; 4/3/1763; and St. Andrews Burgh Accounts 12/6/1805. 7. MS. St. Andrews B.R. 27/9/1752.

reading of English, Wreath, Arithmetick, and Vocall music" - and to precent in the parish kirk. (1) The combination of posts and duties suggests that here there was a continuation of the Sang School within the Grammar School. Then, between 1723 and 1731, the Town Council established an "English School" completely separate from the Grammar School. The first English master of whom we hear, William Paterson, was paid a miserable £1 a year - and that sometimes twelve months in arrears. (2) Paterson, of course, was able to keep all the school fees, for what they were worth; and it is possible that like some of his successors he was also Precentor - a post in the gift of the Town Council, (3) which, if the English School were (as it obviously was later) a Sang School too, would normally be combined with the mastership of the English school. If Paterson did not have the Precentorship - worth £4.8s.10d in 1691 - his long stay of over 16 years in the English School becomes all the more remarkable. His immediate successors - who were certainly not Precentors, and had, like him, school salaries of only £1 a year - remained for much shorter periods: the first for three years, and the next (William Paton) for five. (4) Paton, indeed, though his £1 salary was supplemented by £1 a year from the Kirk Session, (5) lived in dire poverty; in 1752 he was "really much straitened, and (was) allowed to increase his school fees to 10d per quarter" provided "he shall accept of his former quarterly allowance of six shillings Scots for each poor scholar as sent him by the Session"; (6) in 1754 "that just man (was) in a considerable strait, and his wife (was) soon to be brought to bed"; (7) and in 1755 the Session granted him 6s.8d because of his poverty, and because "when first appointed he taught four months without salary". (8)

1. Ibid 10/4/1714. 2. MS. St.Andrews Burgh Accounts 10/8/1733. 3. MS. St.Andrews K.S. 8/6/1761. 4. See Appendix, St.Andrews English Schoolmasters.
5. MS. St.Andrews K.S. 20/9/1750. 6. Ibid 20/9/1752. 7. Ibid 7/3/1754
8. Ibid 11/5/1755.

Thereafter the life of the English schoolmaster was greatly eased. The Town Council, considering "the utmost importance to have a proper qualified person to teach English, Writing, and Arithmetic", established "a fund for the Schoolmaster". In future the salary was to be £11 a year - £4 from "the patrimony of the City", £1 from the Guildry, £3 from "the Convener and Corporations" and £3 from the Kirk Session. (1) Moreover, on the representation of the Kirk Session, fees were raised to 1s per quarter for "English" and 1s.6d for "English and Writing and Arithmetic". (2) On these terms Andrew Stronach was appointed "ad vitam aut culpam" - and forbidden to study Divinity. (3) He took up a "commodious schoolhouse" which the Town Council furnished with "forms and seats", (4) and there he taught for nearly six years, to the great satisfaction of the Town Council, though not to the satisfaction of the Kirk Session, who withheld the £3 a year they had agreed to pay him. (5)

After Stronach's resignation in 1761, Mr. Thomas Handyside, schoolmaster of Easter Duddingston, was appointed "ad vitam aut culpam", with a salary of £11 a year (the Session contributing £3), and school fees of 1s per

1. MS. St.Andrews B.R. 27/6/1755 & MS. St.Andrews K.S. 19/6/1755.
2. MS. St.Andrews B.R. 19/9/1755 & K.S. 19/6/1755. 3. MS. St.Andrews B.R. 19/9/1755. 4. Ibid 26/9/1755. 5. In 1756 he took "a quantity of brass from the Library of St.Leonards College, and caused make of it a Standish for the sand glass in his school"; and removed some of the brass mathematical instruments from the Library, broke them in pieces, and laid them behind his desk. "Considering this and other instances of his folly and indiscretion" the Session thought him unfit to be entrusted with the education of youth, and withdrew the £3 of salary which they paid him. But the Council agreed to keep him in the school - "(1) their children did learn exceeding well under his care; (2) he seemed very sorry and penitent; (3) the Majority of the Council thought him rather an object of pity, than of Malice or Hatred; they think there is no hazard in taking further trial of him, as it must yield greater pleasure ... to reclaim a young lad than to unde him for ever". MS. St.Andrews Pres. 29/9/1756 & 27/10/1756. In 1758 Stronach appealed to the Presbytery for his arrears of salary from the Kirk Session, but lost. Ibid 11/10/1758.

quarter for "English after the New Method" and 1s.6d for Arithmetic, Writing and "Church Music". The Town Council promised him the Precentorship "on the death of the present Incumbent", and the Kirk Session the Clerkship; but "if and when he is made Precenter and Session Clerk, the Salary of all shall cease to him". (1)

After Handyside's death in 1766, three English masters were appointed in rapid succession. All were to teach the same subjects as he had done, together with a new subject - Bookkeeping; they were to give only one month's vacation yearly; and they were to pay for an assistant out of their own pockets. Their salaries were 200 marks Scots a year (just over £11.2s.2½d). (2) One came from Dumfries (where he had been School doctor), one from St. Andrews itself, and one from Ceres. And the second and third of these doctors, like Andrew Stronach, were forbidden to study "Divinity or Philosophy". (3)

The English school, which had been provided with a new school-house in 1767, (4) was even more successful in the last twenty years of the century. Under Mr. James Smith, whose "abilities, assiduity, and success" drew an extra £5 of salary from the Town Council, the school roll rose to 120. (5) Yet, as late as 1788, and in spite of his large school, Mr. Smith was worse off than Goldsmith's village parson: out of his total income of £40 he had to give £12 to his assistant. (6) After 1790, however, he was rather better off; his fees were increased to 1s.6d for English, and 2s for English, Writing, and Arithmetic; (7) and by dint of being very busy - for he was Precenter, Session Clerk, teacher of a private school "at extra hours", attended

1. Ibid 23/9/1761 & MS. St. Andrews K.S. 8/6/1761. He became Precenter on 15/3/1765 and Session Clerk on 12/5/1765. This is the first reference to "English after the New Method" in St. Andrews. 2. MS. St. Andrews B.R. 17/7/1766; 30/8/1766; 7/8/1770. 3. Ibid. 4. Ibid 9/10/1767. 5. Ibid 1/4/1788 (average "since he was elected") & O.S.A. St. Andrews ("average of 7 years"). 6. Ibid 1/4/1788. 7. Ibid 5/7/1788.

by 55 pupils, teacher of bookkeeping "for a guinea", and teacher of French "at a private hour for such as (chose) to employ him" (1) - he must have earned at the very least £55 a year. (2)

Mr. Smith and his colleague in the Grammar School, Mr. Mowat, received that very welcome addition to their incomes, a New Year or a Candlemas gratuity. It is possible that Mr. Smith's gratuity was not a very large one; (3) but Mr. Mowat must have done very well. His scholars, we are told, paid a "Candlemas gratuity according to their rank and fortune, from 5/-" (the minimum quarterly fee) "even to 5 guineas". There was keen competition for "the Candlemas Crown. The King, i.e. he who pays most, reigns for 6 weeks, during which period he is not only entitled to demand an afternoon's play for the scholars once a week, but he has also the royal privilege of remitting all punishments". (4)

As we have seen, it was not unusual for some of the pupils at the burgh schools of the county to be boarders - to the profit of those who boarded them. Sometimes, as in Cupar (and possibly in Dunfermline too) much if not all of the profit went not to the schoolmaster but to the townspeople who lodged the "country bairns". In St. Andrews, however, (at least at the end of the century) boarders "added greatly to the (Grammar Schoolmaster's) emoluments" (5) he having a rent free house "in which may be, and sometimes have been, accommodated 25 boarders". (6)

The other burgh schools must be dismissed more briefly; generally speaking, their evolution was similar to that of the schools we

1. O.S.A. St.Andrews. 2. His salary as schoolmaster & precentor £16.2s.2d; his share of school fees - minimum - £24; fees from private school £27 - total £67.2s.2d. The assistant received £12, leaving Smith £55 - and this without taking into account his Registration fees, his salary as Session Clerk, & his New Year gratuity from the pupils. 3. But 120 times 1s.6d, if every pupil paid up, was a useful sum. 4. O.S.A. St.Andrews. This is the only reference to a Candlemas or New Year "victor" or "King" we meet in Fife. cf. Grant, Burgh Schools, p.473. 5. MS.St.Andrews B.R. 5/3/1802. 6. O.S.A. St.Andrews.

have considered; though each had its individual features. In Inverkeithing, for example, we have the normal steady increase in school fees: from 1s per quarter for English and 1s.2d per quarter for Latin in 1701, to 1s.6d for English and 2s for Latin in 1756, and 3s for English and 8s for Latin in 1809. (1) Here too was the steady widening of the curriculum - "compting" first appeared on the scale of fees in 1756, and "the languages, navigation, and the other parts of mathematics" were taught before 1790. (2) "A gratuity to the master of not less than one quarter's payment as is the custom in other places", was paid by each pupil from 1756, if not before. (3) On the other hand only Crail and Dysart approached the success of Inverkeithing in holding its schoolmaster for long periods. Between 1701 and 1799 there were only four schoolmasters in Inverkeithing - and between 1715 and 1799 only two. (4) Finally, there was the establishment of a Sunday School. In 1782 the Town Council suggested that the schoolmaster should employ a doctor in the Grammar School (doctors had been fairly regularly appointed from 1704 to 1765; it seems, however, that there was none from then to 1782); but he refused. In 1787, therefore, the Council agreed "that it would be proper to appoint a Sunday School in this town in order to keep boys and girls off the street and from the shore on Sunday, and to educate such as are not able to pay for their

1. Stephen, History, pp. 391-398. 2. Ibid, p.398, & O.S.A. Inverkeithing.
3. Stephen, History, p.396. 4. The two had taught for 32 years and 51 years. See Appendix, Inverkeithing schoolmasters. Inverkeithing also had the melancholy distinction of being the only burgh to lose its schoolmaster by murder. On 9th April, 1707, the Master of Burleigh knocked at the door of the school; Mr. Stenhouse, the schoolmaster, appeared at the door, was threatened by the Master of Burleigh, pleaded that "he had neither horse nor arms, but was in his nightgown" (i.e. his dressing-gown) "teaching his scholars", was shot, and fatally injured. The Master of Burleigh had been a rejected suitor for Mrs. Stenhouse's hand. (Stephen, History, p.392) "In his nightgown, teaching his scholars" is interesting. Were these boarders, or was this a "night school"?

children". An adventure schoolmaster agreed to undertake the post, at a salary of £5.11s.1d. (1) The Sunday School seems to have been continued under several teachers: in 1799 the newly appointed schoolmaster was asked to "attend the Sabbath school", for an additional £5 a year. (2)

Of all the burghs which contrived to keep a burgh school throughout the century, Burntisland was the most unfortunate. As we have seen, in 1698 the Bailies and Town Council refused any further salary to Mr. Edmond, their schoolmaster, and David Christie, their schooldoctor, because "the Common Good is so mean"; and for the next few years master and doctor served "gratis", though not without protest. (3) In 1702 the Town Council resumed payment of the salaries (or rather resumed making promises to pay), and granted the school doctor "ten marks to supply his present need"; (4) but only to cut the promised schoolmaster's salary a few years later to "£50 Scots yearly ... whilk with the other allowance and the casualties of school and church they judge will be a competent subsistence". (5) Considering that two months earlier the Council had declared the school was "broken and divided thro' his imprudence and mismanagement", (6) (which meant little from "school casualties"), it is plain that they had narrow notions of "a competent subsistence". But even the "restricted salary" was not paid promptly; and in 1710, after Edmond's dismissal, the Council owed him (on their own calculation)

1. Ibid, p.396. 2. Mr. Spence, the schoolmaster, was officially the assistant schoolmaster, appointed as "colleague and successor" to "the worthy veteran", Mr. Duncan. Spence had "full control of the schoolroom". Ibid, p.397.
3. MS. Burntisland B.R. 14/11/1698, 21/11/1698, 27/11/1699, ("they both declared it is very hard to serve without any fee in thir ill times of dearth") & 9/11/1700. Schoolmaster and doctor had little alternative to accepting this cut in their income (they had of course their school fees) - shortly before this the Presbytery had declared that it would be a loss to the town to "continue Mr Edmond schoolmaster there", (MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 25/11/1697) and Edmond was obviously incompetent and Christie too old to be of much use.
4. MS. Burntisland B.R. 19/10/1702. 5. Ibid 12/11/1705. "The other allowance" would be the 10 bolls from Watson of Dunikier's Mortification.
6. Ibid 22/10/1705.

£38.11s.7½d, or more than ten years salary at the old rate. (1) And though a little later the town restored the salary to £3.6s.8d, and for a period paid twice that, as late as 1790 we find the Town Council pleading poverty and refusing to grant their schoolmaster £5 for an assistant. (2)

The period when Messrs. Edmond and Christie taught the school had been punctuated by complaints of quarrels between them, (3) and by reports of "maligning, traducing, and backbiting" on the part of the schoolmaster. (4) But when at last they had been dismissed - Edmond for his bad behaviour, (5) and Christie, "a poor old infirm man", because "they understood he did more ill than good" (6) - the school was hardly more fortunate. It was all very well for the Council to write to "the Principall of the Colledge in Edinburgh for help in finding a new Schoolmaster" who was to be "a man well expert in the Grammar, and roman and classick authors, and one who has a good method in teaching and teaching with authoritie, and a man of good and Christian life and behaviour, not given to Company and well affected to the Government"; but the only result was the appointment of that Mr. James Guthrie whose three-year quarrel with the Kirk and abandonment of his post after he compromised himself during Mar's rising has already been described. (7) Mr. William Drummond, Guthrie's successor, may have been better disposed to the Government, or better able to keep out of trouble, but he was not very successful in the school; when

1. Ibid 19/6/1710. 2. Ibid 10/11/1790. 3. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 29/3/1697, 23/3/1699, & MS. Burntisland B.R. 5/2/1705. On 4/6/1694 Edmond had been suspended from his office for a space for abusing a bailie and giving him "revylling and approbrious speeches quilk is not fitt to be repeated heirin". 4. MS. Burntisland B.R. 2/9/1706. 5. And how slow the Town Council was to move. In 1706 "the Council understands the schoolmaster's behaviour and attendance on the school is very bad and the great part of the scholars thair of already gone to the school in the Grange. (Ibid 20/5/1706) But it was not until 14/11/1709 that Edmond was deposed. 6. Ibid 27/2/1710. 7. See above, p.241. When Guthrie left, the Town owed him £10, which was paid in 1723. Ibid 23/8/1722 & 1/4/1723.

he resigned in 1733 "the school was very loo". (1) Mr. Drummond was succeeded by Mr. Andrew Black; but once more the Town Council picked the wrong man: in 1741 the Presbytery deposed Black for his contumacy. (2) The next school-master did not remain long enough to become embroiled with Kirk or bailies; but his successor, Mr. James Wilson, had hardly settled down in the school when he was accused by the Kirk Session of "lascivious conduct" and "unbecoming behaviour in his school to the young women". (3) As a result "there was a grievous complaint and application made by a great number of the Inhabitants of their children being almost lost in their Education for want of a proper Teacher of a good character" so that a "young man" was appointed for one year, at a salary of 26 - 23 from the Town and 23 from the Kirk Session. (4) Then Mr. Wilson was cleared of the charges against him, and "all Differences between the Minister, his Elders and Him were intirely compromised". (5) For the next ten years he seems to have given entire satisfaction. (6) From 1762 to 1778 the school appears to have been conducted without incident; but it was not sufficiently well attended to make a doctor necessary. (7)

In 1778 the Town Council took an unprecedented step; they appointed two "students in Edinburgh" as joint schoolmasters, at a salary of £8.6s.8d each - i.e. they doubled the salary they had been paying up to that time. (8) When the joint schoolmasters removed, in 1781, the school reverted to single government; and for the next 17 years it was taught quietly and peacefully by an "expectant" who died in 1796. (9)

1. Ibid 5/11/1733. The Council therefore decided not to employ a school doctor any longer.
2. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 26/3/1741.
3. Ibid 22/2/1749.
4. MS. Burntisland B.R. 3/9/1750.
5. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 20/2/1751.
6. He was described after his death in 1762 as "a very able teacher". MS. Burntisland B.R. 12/7/1762.
7. In 1762 the Council had contemplated the possibility of appointing a doctor, "if they found it proper". Ibid 3/8/1762.
8. Ibid 7/7/1778.
9. Ibid 8/2/1783 & 16/3/1798.

Of the thirteen schoolmasters who were appointed between 1691 and 1800, five (those appointed before 1720, and the joint schoolmasters in 1778) held their posts at the pleasure of the Council; (1) three others were appointed "ad vitam aut culpam", (2) and two were appointed for one year. (3) Two of them were students of Divinity; one becoming a minister; (4) but once, between the appointments of these two, the Council agreed that "no preacher or Minister of the Gospel should be chosen" for the post. (5)

Burntisland showed the usual increase in school fees - Latin was 1s.6d per quarter at the beginning of the century, 2s.6d per quarter in 1762, and 4s per quarter in 1798 (6) - and the same widening of the curriculum we have met elsewhere. In 1719 only Latin and English are mentioned; in 1778 French was taught; in 1798 the subjects given in two tables of fees drawn up in that year (not all of them may have been taught, of course) were:- English, Writing, Arithmetic, "Arithmetic above the Rule of Three", Latin, French, Drawing, "Navigation completely instructed" (expensive this, at 21s), Land surveying, Bookkeeping (also "completely instructed" for 21s), Gunning, "Geography and astronomy and the use of globes", "Euclid elements with plain and spherical Trigonometry", and church Music. (7)

Burntisland yields no detailed school regulations: but the hours of attendance and the rules for "the play and the vacance" drawn up in 1778 compare interestingly with those of the other burgh schools. From mid-April to the end of August the children attended:- from 7.30 a.m. to 9 a.m.; from 10 a.m. to 12.30 p.m.; and from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. For the

1. Ibid 14/12/1691; 27/1/1710; 30/11/1719; & 20/1/1778. 2. Ibid 3/8/1762; 1/8/1769; & 8/2/1783. 3. Ibid 3/9/1750 (referring to an appointment the year before) & 17/10/1798. 4. Ibid 3/3/1762 & MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 12/5/1784. 5. MS. Burntisland B.R. 16/3/1769. 6. Ibid 30/11/1719; 19/7/1762; & 8/8/1798. 7. Ibid 30/11/1719; 7/7/1778; & 8/8/1798 & 20/10/1798.

rest of the year they attended:- 9.30 a.m. to 12 noon; and 1 p.m. to 3 p.m. "The play" was to be given on Wednesday and Saturday afternoon; and a three or four weeks vacation was to be given "either in Summer or Winter seasons at the discretion and as shall be most convenient for the schoolmasters". (1)

Dysart school ran a singularly smooth course between 1698 and 1813. Four schoolmasters spanned the whole period, with periods of service of 11, 15, 40 and 49 years. (2) The first was assisted by a doctor for a short time and thereafter no doctor (as far as is known) was appointed. (3) The salary was poor at the beginning of the century - £5.11s.1d - but it increased. In 1764 one schoolmaster was retired on a pension of £12, and his successor was appointed at a salary of £25, which included "the Kirk emoluments", (4) with an allowance "while a Bachelor or before he takes up House-keeping (of) Twenty Shillings sterling yearly. And after he shall Take up House or shall be married Forty shillings sterling yearly", (5) making altogether the high fee of £27 in addition to "the casualties", compared with the statutory £5.11s.1d. The school fees showed the usual increase - but here not as great as in some other burghs. Latin, for example, was 1s.8d per quarter in 1708, 2s.6d in 1763, and 4s in 1809; English was 1s.1½d in 1709, 1s.9d in 1763, and 2s in 1809. (6) The curriculum too was broadened - but only slightly: the subjects taught in 1790 were English, Arithmetic, Latin, Bookkeeping, and Navigation. (7)

Little is known of the history of Kinghorn Burgh School from

1. Ibid 7/7/1778. 2. See Appendix, Dysart schoolmasters. 3. Mr. Samuel Clinton, appointed 1708 (MS. Dysart B.R. 21/10/1709), died by 1713 (Index of Testaments, Com. St. Andrews, p.76). 4. MS. Dysart B.R. 10/11/1698; 14/11/1709; 12/3/1764. 5. Ibid 12/3/1763. 6. Ibid 21/10/1708; 6/8/1763; 23/10/1809 & 14/11/1709. In 1790 the total income of the schoolmaster from Kirk casualties (he was Session Clerk), salary and school fees from 70 pupils was £50 per annum; it had probably not changed much in the previous 30 years. O.S.A., Dysart. 7. O.S.A., Dysart. Arithmetic is not mentioned in the O.S.A. article, but the table of fees, 1763 and 1809, makes it clear that it was taught.

1696 to 1760. As we have seen, it lost a schoolmaster in 1717 because of his too close association with Mar's adherents, and a schooldoctor in 1746 because of his activities in the 'Fortyfive. (1) But these dismissals probably affected the school only slightly: the vacant posts were soon filled. Greater and more constant influence on the educational work of the burgh was exercised by the Kirk Session, which maintained very close contact with the school. Not only was the schoolmaster always elected Session Clerk and Precentor (2) - the payment which the Session made for the teaching of poor scholars gave them the right to examine them "as to efficiency". (3) Moreover, it was usual for the Town Council to consult the Kirk Session on the choice of doctor and schoolmaster; (4) and at least twice it was the Kirk Session which appointed the doctor. (5) Once, indeed, the Kirk Session's interest in the teaching of the "poor scholars" led to that sharp dispute with the Town Council which we have mentioned. In February 1771 the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy deposed the school-doctor, Mr. James Hunter, for his "gross immoralities" (6); the Town Council accepted this; but after Hunter had been "admitted to Church censure", they reappointed him as interim schoolmaster. (7) Meantime the Kirk Session had withdrawn "their scholars" from the Burgh School and had appointed Mr. James Izat "Session Clerk, Precentor, and teacher of Poor Scholars", whereupon the Town Council demanded that the poor scholars should be put to the Burgh School and threatened to sue the Minister of Kinghorn for any loss of fees their schoolmaster might suffer from the Session's action. Whatever effect this

1. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 10/7/1717, & Grant, p.275. 2. MS. Kinghorn K.S. 10/12/1717, 15/6/1736, 16/9/1739. 3. Ibid 30/7/1734. 4. Grant, p.326 (quoting from Burgh Records that have since disappeared) & MS. Kinghorn K.S. 15/9/1739; & MS. Kinghorn B.R. 20/12/1762. 5. MS. Kinghorn K.S. 22/2/1744 & 17/6/1747. 6. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 15/5/1771 & 15/2/1772. 7. Ibid 4/9/1771 & MS. Kinghorn B.R. 7/10/1771.

threat had on the parish minister, it certainly frightened Mr. Izat, who declared himself unwilling to have "the trouble of a lawsuit, and declined having the teaching of poor scholars any longer". (1) The Kirk Session retreated, and accepted his demission; but by this time the Town Council was thoroughly roused, and they insisted that the "teacher of the poor scholars" (i.e. either the schoolmaster or schooldoctor) should be appointed Session Clerk and Precentor. (2) The quarrel dragged on after 1776, (3) until at last the Session gave in and accepted Mr. Ritchie, the schoolmaster, as their Session Clerk. (4)

One of the fruits of the co-operation between the Kirk Session and the Town Council, before it was interrupted by Mr. Hunter's improper behaviour, was the School Regulations of 1763, from which we gain the earliest account of the subjects of the curriculum and the conduct of the school. (5)

In Spring and Summer (1st April to 1st October) the Regulations ran, the hours of attendance were to be 7 a.m. to 9 a.m., 10 a.m. to 12 noon, and 2 p.m. to 4 p.m.; for the rest of the year 9 a.m. to 12 noon and 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. "or at ceasing of daylight". The master was to begin and end each school day by prayer and the singing of a portion of a psalm "in the New Method", "and once in the day ask a question in the Shorter Catechism of every scholar capable of repeating it". The subjects to be taught were Latin, English, Writing, Arithmetic, the "Three parts of Navigation", and Church Music - ("gratis to those who pay for any other part, 1s.6d to others"). Writing and arithmetic were to be taught "only through the day between 12 noon and 1 p.m. ... the Master and Doctor to attend a week by turns". They might be taught "privately", however, between 6 p.m. and 8 p.m., to such as paid 3s per quarter, and another sixpence when "candle and fire is necessary". Music was to be taught by the Doctor

. MS. Kinghorn B.R. 4/11/1771 & MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 15/2/1772. 3. MS. Kinghorn B.R. 19/2/1772. 3. Ibid 11/11/1776. 4. Some time before 1794. MS. Kinghorn B.R. 17/12/1794. 5. MS. Kinghorn B.R. 21/3/1763.

"immediately after dismissing the School on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday, every week except the Vacation, from 1st April to 1st October". Navigation was not to be taught in "the Public School" during the day, but only from 6 to 8 in the evening. Latin, presumably, was taught in the remaining hours of the school day.

From the 1st October to 13th April the school was to be heated by a coal fire (or fires), for which every pupil, with the exception of the "poor scholars", was to pay 1s on the 1st October.

"The play" was to be given only on Wednesday and Saturday afternoon; on two days in February (for the cockfight); (1) and a vacation of one month every year "about mid August". Sunday was not to be a day of idleness. All the scholars were to assemble in the school morning and afternoon, and accompanied by their teachers were to go to the Church, there to sit in the seats provided. And following the afternoon sermon, all pupils under twelve years old were to meet for instruction "from some proper Catechism". (2)

The School Regulations - and this was unusual - gave the arrangements for paying for "poor scholars". £5 a year was to be paid by the Kirk Session for the free instruction of a number of "poor scholars" they would nominate; £2 more was to be provided by the Town Council for the "poor scholars" they nominated; and £2 a year was paid by the "Community of Seamen" to provide for the teaching of Navigation to the boys of their community. (3)

These school regulations, with a few modifications, were in force until the end of the century. The only changes we need note were those made in 1768, when the schoolmaster was empowered to grant one month's vacation any time between 1st April and 1st October. The cockfight was abolished at

1. "The two days of Vacation formerly allowed for the cockfight". MS. Kinghorn B.R. 15/2/1768.
2. Not "pupils of 12 and over" as Grant gives it.
3. MS. Kinghorn B.R. 21/3/1763.

the same time, and instead of the two days at Fasten's E'en held in connection with that long established custom, the school was to be given "the play" about the first Tuesday of March.

Under the six masters who served Kinghorn School between 1683 and 1771 - one, the first, for 34 years - the numbers were large enough to justify the employment of a school doctor for most of the time. (1) After 1776 no doctor was appointed, a result, no doubt, of the marked decline in the population of the burgh in the second half of the century; (2) nonetheless one would have expected a town with 401 children under 10 years of age to have had more than 60 on the Grammar School roll. The schoolmaster with only 60 pupils, low fees (Latin was 2s.6d in 1791, English 1s.6d) and only £5.11s.1d of salary, must have had a poor living, and indeed his condition drew from the Minister of Kinghorn the regretful complaint that "schoolmasters, a body of men from whose successful labours Scotland has derived that reputation for literature which she so deservedly enjoys; and upon whose future labours the preservation of this reputation ... must in a great measure depend, should be so poorly provided for by the country". (3)

Finally, let us look for a moment at Crail Burgh School, which, like the burgh school of Kinghorn, declined in the course of the century so that by 1790 it employed only one master, who was engaged almost entirely in teaching the lower branches. (4) Yet, though the school "experienced a proportional decay with the town", (5) one feels it was a pleasant school in which to teach. Its schoolmasters lived out long lives in its service - there were four only, with reigns of 41, 23, 29, and 40 years, between 1685 and 1819. (6) And not

1. See Appendix, Kinghorn Schoolmasters & Doctors. There may have been no doctor from 1724 to 1729, during which time the Kirk Session paid "the doctor's salary" to the Schoolmaster. 2. 2389 in 1755 (Webster), 1118 in 1791 (O.S.A.) 3. O.S.A., Kinghorn. 4. O.S.A., Crail. 5. Ibid. 6. See Appendix, Crail Schoolmasters.

only did the Town Council grant to two of the 15 schooldoctors who served between 1706 and 1781 (after that no doctor was appointed) "the servitorship of the school after the (schoolmaster's) death" (1) - one of them in fact did succeed to the post - but the school was often a family affair. Mr. William Row, the schoolmaster, appointed his son John schooldoctor in 1713, in 1716, and again from 1720 to 1725; and Mr. Patrick Coldstream (with the sanction of the Town Council and Kirk Session) appointed his brother William to be his doctor in 1736, and after William's departure to Dunblane in 1743, chose Alexander Coldstream, most probably another member of his family. (2)

In matters educational the Kirk Session and the Town Council worked in the closest harmony. No quarrel over the patronage of the school or the masters or doctors to be appointed marred their relationship; the Session paid part of the doctor's salary, (3) gave him an extra 10s for teaching "poor scholars" after 1736, (4) and always made the Schoolmaster Session Clerk. (5) In return, the Session was always consulted on the appointment of a doctor, and always Town Council and Session agreed on their choice. (6)

The annual salary drawn by the schoolmaster altered little throughout the century. From 1685 until 1738 it was £8.15s, including 8s.4d of house mail. (7) In 1738, on Mr. Coldstream's being offered a post in Dundee Grammar School, "the Town Council and Kirk Session both offered him an extra One Pound Sterling yearly to get him to stay without any obligation to continue this to any successor". (8) And Coldstream's successor, in fact, was paid only £8.15s;

1. MS. Crail K.S. 30/11/1725, 20/12/1726. 2. See Appendix, Crail Schoolmasters.
3. Between 1713 & 1757 the Session paid £2, to the Town's £4; thereafter, while there was a doctor, the Session paid, on an average, £3 and the Town £5; and after 1775 the Session added a further 9s.6d. Ibid 22/12/1713, 25/1/1757, & 1/7/1775. 4. Ibid 16/11/1736 & 19/4/1752. 5. Ibid 10/10/1736, 21/2/1749 & 4/2/1779. 6. Ibid 15/5/1716, 2/7/1717, 22/8/1725, 16/11/1736, & 16/8/1744. 7. Ibid 20/1/1685 & 18/6/1738. Report, Royal Burghs, Municipal Corporations Report. 8. MS. Crail K.S. 18/6/1738. See also Conolly, Fifiana, p.177

but by 1792 the salary had been increased to £12 a year. (1)

Dramatic performances, as we have seen, were not unknown in our Fife schools; "Dido, or the Unhappy Queen, Translated from Virgil by Mr Patrick Coldstream" was acted "by the Students of the School of Crail at their Vacancy August 1737"; "Joseph, or The Effect of Virtue ... Translated from Terentius Christianus by Mr Patrick Coldstream ..." was presented on 30th August, 1739; and "Judith or The Virago, A Tragedy", another "translation", on 28th August, 1740. (2) Mr. Coldstream's treatment was dull enough to de-eroticise Potiphar's Wife and the Carthaginian Queen - even the Kirk, which in Perth at this very time was conducting a campaign "against converting the school into a playhouse, whereby youth was diverted from their studies and employed in the buffooneries of the stage" (3), raised not a murmur in Crail - but it was an advance on "The Royal Council of Advice". (4)

1. O.S.A., Crail.

2. MS. in Edinburgh University Library. Wood ("East Neuk of Fife") prints the cast of "Joseph". The schoolboys who played the parts, male and female, of Mr. Coldstream's works included the sons of the local lairds - the Middletons, the Erskines, the Monipennys.

3. H.Gray Graham, op.cit. p.440.

4. There is no record of cock fighting in Crail, but after Mr. William Coldstream, doctor of Crail, went to Dunblane in 1743, he kept a very careful record of the cock fighting in Dunblane school. It is tempting to think that the rules for the cock fight in Dunblane were those to which Coldstream was accustomed in Crail. These rules were (1) "No one may lift his cock till beaten or put to flight. (2) No fuges to be counted. (3) Boy or girl whose cock is champion of contest shall be victor or king. (4) The Victor may pay an English shilling to the guardian. (5) Those who refuse to take part to pay a fine. (6) If four minutes elapse without a cock striking it is to be lifted up and counted defeated. Slain cocks to become the property of the schoolmaster." In 1753, 70 cocks were entered for the contest; in 1761, 51; in 1773, 27. Alex. B. Barty, "History of Dunblane", (Stirling 1944) pp.187, 188.

As we pass in review all these burgh schools, it is not difficult to construct a composite photograph of the typical burgh school boy and school girl - or rather a series of pictures of successive generations of school boys and school girls. Subjects of study - narrow at the beginning of the century, rather broader at the end; hours of attendance - very long in 1700, shorter in 1800; summer vacations and short breaks - becoming more subject to control, more regular in their incidence as the century advanced; discipline - severe, but subject to the control of the Magistrates throughout the century; the comforts (or lack of comforts) of the classroom - the schoolchildren crowded on the ancient and much repaired benches, in low rooms, heated by coal fires, and lit by the sun or by candles; amusements - the cockfight universal at the beginning, and obsolescent at the end, of the century; the vacation feast and the vacation play, both probably common throughout the century; and the Sunday activities of the pupils - gathering in the school, marching to the church, sitting in the scholars' loft and attending to the sermon that they would have to summarise for their master's inspection: on all these matters we have full information. Nowhere do we find any detailed account of the methods of instruction; but since the schoolroom was constructed on the same plan in the eighteenth as it was in the seventeenth century, and since there had been no addition to the apparatus available to the schoolmaster, it is plain that there can have been little change in methods between 1700 and 1800.

How did the school life of the children who attended the parish school differ from that of their contemporaries in the burgh school? Differences there almost certainly were: if there were vacation feasts, or school plays, "to landward" we never hear of them. The landward youngster was, on the whole, less likely to study Latin at his school, though in nearly all parochial schools, as we have seen, it was offered: in Kilconquhar, for example, only 3 or 4 (of 30

to 40 attending the school) were learning Latin in 1792; in Kilrenny, "few"; but then the same was true of Crail, "as the people in general are not able to afford a liberal education". (1) Moreover, neither French nor Geography (taught, as we have seen, in some of the burgh schools) was offered, as far as is known, in any of the parochial schools; but on the other hand Bookkeeping and Navigation were taught - though to how many we cannot say - in three or four parochial schools. (2) There had been a slight broadening of the parochial school curriculum, nevertheless, between 1700 and 1800. Arithmetic, which was a newfangled subject slowly making its way at the beginning, was taught in all the parish schools at the end of the century. (3)

Again, not even the worst burgh school was so poorly housed as some of the parochial schools. Yet in spite of what we have learned of conditions in, say, Carnock, Markinch, and Scoonie, we must not assume that the majority of parochial schoolrooms were completely comfortless. More revealing than the mention of chimneys in the specifications of parish schools (4) (for that tells us only that a fire was possible) is the payment by the Kirk Sessions of "coal-money" to the "poor scholars" at the parish schools. (5) Nevertheless it is

1. O.S.A. Kilconquhar, Kilrenny, & Crail. 2. Bookkeeping in Monimail; Bookkeeping & Navigation in Newburgh (but to adults only), Scoonie, Torryburn, & Wemyss. O.S.A. 3. In every case where there is a list of subjects given in the O.S.A., Arithmetic is mentioned. In addition it is mentioned in the records of Portmoak (MS. Portmoak Her. 7/2/1794) & Creich (MS. Creich Her. 23/9/1803). The parish schoolmaster of Kettle was examined in Greek, Bookkeeping, Latin & the 3 Rs. MS. Cupar Pres. 3/10/1804. 4. See above, for example, the specifications for Abbotshall & Kinglassie schools, and Portmoak in 1748 (MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 3/3/1748) & 1776 "fireplace below, 2 above". (MS. Portmoak Her. 16/6/1776). In 1804 it was reported that the "old grate in the schoolroom" was worn out. Ibid 27/6/1804. Note that though statements that schools are to be built or rebuilt are common, it is very unusual to find details of the furnishings etc. 5. In 1704, for example, Scoonie K.S. paid 2s for coalmoney for 8 poor scholars; in 1764 & 1771 Collessie K.S. paid coalmoney; in January 1791 Aberdour paid 1s.9d for coal siller for 7 poor scholars, & 11 months later 1s.8d for coal siller for 5 poor scholars - note the increase. (MS. Scoonie K.S. 26/11/1704; MS. Collessie K.S. in P.R.) 5/4/1764 & 26/5/1771; & MS. Aberdour K.S. 25/1/1790 & 3/12/1791.) Few of the cash books have survived.

almost certain that the burgh schoolroom was a pleasanter place than the majority, if not all, of the parochial class rooms.

But, on the whole, the school life of the landward youngster was little different from that of his contemporary in the burghs. Like him he did not necessarily - or usually - attempt to learn all the subjects that the schoolmaster was prepared to teach; as the many tables of fees make plain, he could take one or more subjects; and while we have no figures for the beginning of the century, at the end of the century the number of those learning only "English", which sometimes may have meant Reading and Writing, but at other times certainly meant Reading only, was considerable. (1) In the accounts for "poor scholars" we find such items as "for reading (16 weeks) 1s.4d", and "for five quarters reading - ". (2) But in the parish from which this is quoted, we also find "for 4 months writing"; (3) and in various parishes (for example, Auchterderran, Auchtermuchty, and Kennoway) (4) it seems that the poor scholars were given at least the 3 Rs: in Kingsbarns certainly this was usual at the end of the century; for we read in the Statistical Account that "the Session pays the Schoolmaster for teaching (the poor's) children reading, writing, and the common rules of arithmetic". (5)

The school day to landward was, at the beginning of the century at least, as long as in the burghs. In 1701, for example, the hours in Kenno-

1. In Culross 4 were learning Latin, 20 learning Arithmetic, and 52 English. In Newburgh parish school 8 learnt Latin, 22 Arithmetic and writing, 30 English. In Falkland the O.S.A. speaks of "the small proportion (of the 60 pupils) that read Latin and arithmetic". In Kettle the fees were - "English" 1s.3d; writing 1s.3d" etc; in Monimail, English 1s, writing 2s. In Anstruther Wester "all the young people are taught to read English"; in Crail the fees were "Reading English 1s.6d, writing and arithmetic 2s.6d" etc.etc. O.S.A.
2. MS. Collessie K.S. (in P.R.) 5/4/1764 & 15/1/1770. 3. Ibid 26/5/1771.
4. Houston, Auchterderran, p.276; MS. Auchtermuchty K.S. 22/4/1798; Kennoway K.S. 23/2/1729 - 4/1/1732 passim & 30/6/1761. 5. O.S.A. Kingsbarns.

way were 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. in Summer, and "in Winter as late as the day would allow", with breaks from 9 a.m. to 10 a.m. and from 12 noon to 1 p.m. (1) And the parish school child, like his fellow in the burgh school, seems to have paraded from school to church on Sunday; there he might sit in a "scholars' loft" (2); sometimes he "rehearsed the Catechism" (3) for the edification of the congregation; and sometimes he had to write up notes of the sermon for his schoolmaster's inspection in the school, either on Sunday or, more usually, on Monday morning. (4) (And in one parish, if not more, the Session went to the length of appointing a special officer (at a fee of 3s.4d a year) to sit in the Loft and "take care that the Boyes observe good order ... and be not disturbed".) (5) But this was in the first half of the century; and it is to be feared, in the absence of any specific reference to the "convening of scholars in the Sabbath" in any landward parish towards the end of the century, that the custom died out.

It is highly probable, too, that cockfighting was as important an occasion in the school year to landward as in the burghs, though direct references to it are very few. In Balmerino, for example, it continued until the early part of the nineteenth century. (6) That it was a custom of considerable value to the schoolmasters is to be inferred from the fact that in 1727 one schoolmaster, suspected of incest, and a fugitive, came out of hiding,

1. MS. Kennoway K.S. 12/2/1701. 2. Ibid 23/11/1725 & 7/1/1729; and for burgh schools, MS. St. Andrews K.S. 8/12/1720; MS. Dunfermline B.R. 12/1/1730; & MS. Cupar B.R. 5/8/1786; & Stephen, History, p.397. 3. MS. Kennoway K.S. 12/2/1701; & MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 28/10/1708 (Auchterderran); cf. Grant, p.425 ff. 4. So at least it was at the beginning of the century. "Q. Do you convene your scholars Sabbath afternoons, & call for their notes? A. He used to call for their notes on Munday morning." (Visitation of Kettle - MS. Cupar Pres. 20/8/1708) Similar Q. & A. in Ceres (Ibid 1/2/1709). 5. MS. Kennoway K.S. 23/11/1725; 27/12/1725; 27/12/1727; & 7/1/1729. 6. Campbell, Balmerino, p.481.

returned to his school "about Fasten's even last, and (called) the Children together to draw figures for cock fighting." (1)

Apart from the list of classical authors studied in parish and burgh alike - we have little information about the text books used in either burgh or parochial school. Despauter's Latin Grammar, as we have seen, held its place at the beginning of the century; but no particular Grammar is referred to in any of the school regulations or accounts of visitations in the latter half of the century. It would be very unusual, however, if Mr. James Bayne did not use his own "Short Introduction to the Latin Grammar" (which was published in 1714) during the time he was Master of Dunfermline Grammar School. (2) After 1722 "An English Grammar", by Mr. Cowan, schoolmaster of Wemyss, "which he reckons might be usefull for educating youth in English schools", was most probably employed in all the parish schools in Kirkealdy Presbytery, each session in the bounds having subscribed for 10s worth; (3) but whether it was used as a teacher's book, or put into the hands of the pupils, we cannot say. The Shorter Catechism, of course, remained one of the indispensable texts; it is one of the few books mentioned as being supplied to "poor scholars"; (4) others being the Bible, and "Proverbs". (5) In 1749, too, we find Dairsie Kirk Session paying for "a Spelling Book to a poor Scholar - 1s" - fairly clear evidence that by then Spelling Books - but whose, and of what type, we do not know - were being widely used. (6) Finally, we are told that "from a great many accounts rendered to parents" about the year 1784, the books most commonly

1. MS. Cupar K.S. 13/6/1727. Wilkie, the accused man, denied that he had in fact done this; but he denied many things of which the Presbytery found him guilty, and it is hard to see why the Pres. charged him with this if it were not true. 2. Annals, 1714, p.400. 3. MS. Kirkealdy Pres. 8/11/1722. The Kirk Sessions had promised to pay 10s sterling each, but did not pay until after they received the book. 4. e.g. MS. Kennoway K.S. 23/2/1729 - "two pair of Catechisms ... 1s." 5. Ibid, & Stephen, History, p.455. 6. MS. Dairsie K.S. 6/3/1749. Here we may mention the "2 copies 8d & Quills 1d for David Campbell" paid by Aberdour Kirk Session. (MS. Aberdour K.S. 1/12/1801)

used in Dunfermline were "the Catechism, the Proofs, Reading Made Easy, the Testament, the Bible, and Dilworth's Arithmetic". (1)

It will be remembered that boarders were to be found in some, if not all, of the burgh schools - in Burntisland, Cupar, Dunfermline, & St. Andrews, for example. But some of the parochial schools, too, had their boarders, towards the end of the century at any rate. "The safe and healthy situation of (Largo) would attract boarders from all quarters", stated the Statistical Account; and Leuchars "is a healthy pleasant village, where boarders may be kept to advantage. The present incumbent got a few soon after he was elected, and has room for a greater number". (2) At Newburn School there were "several gentlemen's sons", and they too would be boarders. (3)

The presence of boarders - even without the mention of "gentlemen's sons" - at parochial as well as at burgh schools reminds us of one feature of Scottish education which has often been commented upon. Rich and poor - the gentleman's son and the "poor scholar" - rubbed shoulders in the parochial and burgh schools of the county. (4) To that extent the system was democratic. Moreover, as we have seen, the Kirk Sessions' payments for "poor scholars" ensured that the children of the really poor need not be left without some tincture of learning; and it is an impressive fact that in every Fife parish

1. Annals, p.513. Here and there one meets references to "the Collection" or "Collections" supplied to poor scholars (e.g. MS. Aberdour K.S. 1/6/1801). Was this Masson's "Collection of Prose & Verse" - the book used by the young Robert Burns - containing selections from Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Addison, Thomson, Gray, Akenside etc. & moral & didactic prose? (F.B.Snyder - "Life of Robert Burns" (London 1932, p.62) The test pieces set to the candidates for Kirkcaldy school might well have come from Masson's Collection. 2. O.S.A., Largo & Leuchars. 3. O.S.A. Newburn. Just over the boundary of the county, in Cleish, the parochial school was attended by boarders; the schoolhouse built there in 1794 "was arranged to enable the Schoolmaster to accommodate boarders in garrets". Hall, op.cit., p.99. 4. See, for example, Sir Alexander Gray's account in S.H.R. (Jan.1912) especially pp.127,128. And see above p.332, footnote 2, for sons of local gentry at Crail school; and N.S.A., Kirkcaldy.

where the Session's Cash Books have been preserved we find that those payments were made. (1) But a democratic system in the sense of a system providing equality of opportunity did not exist. Not only was there, as compared with the seventeenth century, a slackening in the efforts of the Kirk Sessions to compel every parent to put his children to the school - only in two parishes, and that at the beginning of the century, do we find the elders sent round the parish to exhort parents to do their duty; (2) the amount of education which the Session was prepared to pay for might be measured with a careful eye. In Wemyss in 1712 "the Elders reported that having visited the schools in their several quarters, and examined the poor scholars, they had discharged several, whom they thought had been kept at school several years, and could read the Bible, and continued others, who were not so far advanced". (3) On the other hand, a Kirk Session might foster talent: the Session of Scoonie, "considering that Jerom" (son of Janet Haig, a poor woman) "is a hopefull lad, a good Scholar and promises to do well" - he was already attending the University - "agree to give Eight pence weekly to his mother". (4)

How long was the school life of the ordinary child, and what

1. In the eighteenth century, as in the seventeenth, girls were paid for as well as boys - e.g. in Ceres (MS. K.S. 22/3/1742 - 10/5/1743 passim); MS. Dairsie K.S. 31/5/1750 & 27/5/1754; MS. Dunbog K.S. 4/7/1720 to 11/2/1725 passim; MS. Kennoway K.S. 23/2/1729. 2. MS. Wemyss K.S. 21/1/1709 & 28/1/1708; & MS. Aberdour K.S. 15/11/1702; 7/2/1717. Elsewhere we find the minister declaring that "parents were exhorted to educate carefully their children" - Collessie. MS. Cupar Pres. 24/5/1704. 3. MS. Wemyss K.S. 27/6/1712. And in Dunfermline in 1798 "the 2 children ... at Halbeath School not to have their quarters payment any longer till inquiry be made what length they are in their education". MS. Dunfermline K.S. 12/8/1798. 4. MS. Scoonie K.S. 3/7/1748. Note, however, the action of Ministers and K.S. of Cupar. "(They) represented to the Presbytery that one John Ness a blind lad born and brought up in the Town had made good proficiency in his Grammar, and was desirous to prosecute his studies at the Colledge, but wanting means of his own ... earnestly entreated the Presbytery would recommend him to persons of quality within their bounds for a charitable supply". MS. Cupar Pres. 25/10/1703.

proportion of the Fife children attended school at all? There is no reason to believe that, as far as the first question is concerned, the position was any different in the eighteenth from what it had been in the seventeenth century. As the various Acts of Town Councils and Kirk Sessions make clear, children were put to school at the age of five or six - in the burghs possibly to an adventure school, from which they transferred to the Burgh School when seven or eight years old. For the majority, school leaving age no doubt was attained when they could read their Bibles. In the few cases where the names of poor scholars are given, there is not one instance of payments being made for more than five years; (1) and the position in Abbotshall, where according to the Statistical Account, the labouring classes' "children ... as soon as they can do anything, are employed in manufactures", was no doubt similar to that in the majority of parishes. (2) And, since it was still common for students at the Universities to enter when they were only eleven or twelve years old, even those who were destined for "the College" might leave the parish or burgh school at such tender ages. But there were older pupils - like the schoolboy of Saline "one Andrew Crie ... fifteen or sixteen years of age" who "by threatening to go out of the school and packing up his Books so to do" provoked his schoolmaster to "that rash and unguarded Expression You may go to the Devil if you please Sir". (3)

1. In Aberdour one poor scholar was paid for from 3/12/1791 to 2/5/1796; another from 4/5/1796 to 1/2/1801. In Dairsie, mid-century, I have found one boy and one girl whose fees were paid for $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 years (MS. Dairsie K.S. 6/3/1749 to 22/10/1753 passim); in Ceres the longest period for which payments to any one poor scholar are recorded is 3 years; others have periods of 2 years (MS. Ceres K.S. 14/9/1741 to 9/7/1744 passim); in Dunbog one boy was paid for from 23/9/1723 ("in the summer season") to 21/7/1726 (MS. Dunbog K.S.); in the same parish "James Cairns, an orphan" was paid for from 24/7/1780 to 13/2/1784. 2. Where there were no manufactures, there was herding and the like. In Monimail, in 1830 after this period, children of "11 & 12 were taken from school and sent to herd cattle". N.S.A. Monimail. 3. MS. Saline K.S. 20/5/1748. Reid, "scholar at the Grammar School", who was candidate for the doctorship in Dunfermline in 1767, must surely have been 15 or 16 years old too. MS. Dunfermline K.S. 8/10/1767.

As to the numbers who gained some kind of education, it is certain that the burgh and parochial schools were quite unable to cope with all the children that should have resorted to them; and although the Adventure school, as we have seen, played a great part, they certainly did not supply the full needs of the county. Certain very rough and ready figures of literacy can be obtained for the first half of the century: in Balmerino, for example, "between 1716 and 1748, of those called on to sign their names as witnesses, in cases before the Kirk Session, one man out of every three, and eleven women out of every twelve, were unable to do so"; (1) in the parish of Scoonie between 1721 and 1746 ten men out of 32 and four women out of five could not sign; (2) but in the parishes of Kettle, Monimail, Newburgh and Strathmiglo between 1720 and 1724, only one tradesman out of 24 who were asked to make reports to the Presbytery of Cupar was unable to write. (3) But we must not lay much stress on these figures. Not only is the sample much too small; at the most they indicate only those who were not taught to write, and not those who had not attended school, where, as we know, many were taught nothing beyond reading. But it is clear that towards the end of the century at any rate, there were many who received no schooling at all. In Dunfermline, according to the Old Statistical Account, "education is too often neglected; many cannot read". Moreover, in five parishes in the bounds of Dunfermline and Kirkcaldy Presbyteries, only one thirteenth of the population were in attendance at all their schools - burgh, parochial, and adventure; (4) about half of what it should have been if every youngster had had about five years at school. (5)

1. Campbell, Balmerino, p.447. 2. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 11/3/1721 & MS. Scoonie K.S. 4/9/1744 & 9/5/1746. 3. MS. Cupar Pres. 27/12/1720; 14/9/1721; 11/5/1724; 27/8/1724. 4. Beath: Population 400, at school 30; Auchterderran: Pop. 1,200, at school 130-140; Auchtertool: Pop. 334, at school 25; Dysart: Pop. 4,862, at school 300; Kirkcaldy: Pop. 2,673, at school 250. O.S.A. In the whole of Scotland, in 1819, the figure was one-tenth. Digest of Parochial Returns, 1819, Vol. III. 5. According to the N.S.A., the proportions some 40 years later in 4 parishes were:- Collessie, 1 in 8 $\frac{1}{2}$; Creich 1 in 8; Dunfermline 1 in 7 $\frac{1}{2}$; Falkland

The Parish Schoolmaster's Living in the Eighteenth Century.

How the burgh schoolmaster fared in the eighteenth century has already been considered. It is possible to deal with his parochial colleague's conditions of service, income, and the like, very briefly; for much of what has been said concerning the parish schoolmaster in the seventeenth, applies to his successors in the eighteenth, century. After 1700, as before it, the parish schoolmaster was always session clerk and precentor (1) - unless indeed he offended and was deprived of his Kirk posts. (2) It is unnecessary to attempt to calculate how much these ancillary posts were worth to him - that has been done for us by the writers of the Statistical Account, and, since the Registration fees and payment for clerking varied but little throughout the century, (3) the income from this source would be little different in 1790 from what it was in 1700. His school fees, however, increased somewhat between 1690 and 1790: 10s Scots (or 10d Sterling) had been the usual quarterly fee in the former year (4) for poor scholars; in the last decade of the century the lowest fee was 1s.6d. (5)

The schoolmaster's salary, as we have seen, was fixed by statute, at not less than 100 merks (£5.11s.1d). How much in fact did the parish schoolmasters receive in the first half of the century? Of all the Presbyteries, Dunfermline seems to have had the best record - although it included Carnock. But

(foot-note cont. from previous page) 1 in 8. In the Presbytery of Cupar, in 1853, Dairsie, Kilmany, Kettle, Cupar, Ceres, Cults, & Strathmiglo had rather more than one sixth of their total populations at school. Gen. Assembly Reports, 1853.

1. The Presbytery "recommended (the schoolmaster) to be appointed ... Clerk according to use and wont in other landward parishes". MS. Dunfermline Pres. 19/6/1765. 2. e.g. Rankine in Auchterderran (MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 28/7/1756) and Tod in Kennoway (Ibid 7/9/1791). 3. e.g. the Beath K.S. declared in 1807 that their registration fees had not been changed since 1696. Aberdour fees were 2s.6d for marriage, 1s.4d for baptism in 1660 (see above, p.139) and 2s.6d for marriage and 10d for baptism in 1792. 4. See above, p.213. 5. O.S.A. various parishes. Note too Kinglassie fees - in 1709 13s.4d Scots per quarter for husbandmen (MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 10/11/1709) & in 1818 1s.6d for "English" (MS. Kinglassie Heritors 7/12/1818).

in Beath up to 1722 the Heritors paid only £40 Scots; (1) and as late as 1765 the salary in Saline did not amount to £5.11s.1d - only apparently with the 30s sterling which he was in wont to receive as Session Clerk and Precentor did he attain the legal minimum. (2) In Cupar Presbytery, with its many agricultural parishes, salaries ran low. Moonzie paid only £20 Scots up to 1712, (3) Dairsie only £40 Scots to 1714, and Kilmany £40 Scots to 1718. (4) All the others had a "legal salary" - not always paid by all the heritors. (5) Elsewhere legal salaries were paid - the Falkland schoolmaster actually received £100 Scots (£20 Scots from the town, and £80 Scots from the Heritors). (6) In Kirkcaldy Presbytery also there were a number of parishes paying exceedingly low - or even no - salaries. As late as 1708 neither Ballingry nor Portmoak afforded a salary; (7) the following year the Presbytery appointed both to pay the minimum, but even in 1760, as we have seen, the Portmoak schoolmaster was constrained to apply to the Commissioners of Supply. (8) Auchtermool was in little better case; in 1709 the salary was only 20 marks from the box; and in 1763 the schoolmaster had to appeal to the two heritors for "a legal salary" - this time successfully. (9) In Markinch, on the other hand, the salary in 1704 was £10, in Leslie in 1705 it was £8.6s.8d (£2.15s.7d of it from seat rents - i.e. out of the Box). (10) In the bounds of St. Andrews Presbytery, Ferry-Fort-on-Craig and St. Monance paid their schoolmasters only £3.6s.8d during the first quarter of the century - with an additional 16s.8d to them as Session Clerks; (11) and it was not until the Commissioners of Supply had been approached in 1748 that a competent salary was obtained in the latter parish. (12) The schoolmaster of Kemback was "much short

1. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 2/8/1722. 2. Ibid 15/5/1765. 3. MS. Cupar Pres. 9/12/1712. In 1757 the Commissioners of Supply were applied to, to fix a legal salary. Ibid 5/4/1757. 4. Ibid 8/12/1714; 18/11/1718. 5. e.g. in Flisk in 1729. Ibid 9/10/1729. 6. Ibid 29/10/1723. 7. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 11/11/1708. 8. Ibid 26/3/1760. 9. Ibid 5/7/1709; 30/3/1763 & 31/7/1765. 10. Ibid 1/6/1704 & 5/11/1705. 11. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 20/9/1699; 23/6/1708; 16/8/1780; 4/7/1701; 16/6/1725. 12. Ibid 7/12/1748.

of a legal allowance" in 1713, and in 1748 the schoolmaster in Dunino had "only a poor salary and no house". (1) But the schoolmaster of Forgan (in 1707, though not in 1734) had £6.13s.4d, (2) and the schoolmaster of Kilconquhar had £8.6s.8d after 1716. (3)

Some of the schoolmasters cannot have had any easier task than their seventeenth century predecessors in collecting the salaries that had been promised. The incumbent of Creich, for example, had to gather his salary and "the mortified money" from eight heritors. (4) But he was fortunate compared to the schoolmaster of Portmoak, who had "only £41.10s Scots money of Sallary payed by 28 different Hands" which, as he said, "must bear very hard on your Petitioner ... who has a pretty numerous family to support". (5) By the end of the century, however, we meet no complaints like this. No doubt the heritors, with their land increasing in value yearly, found it less necessary to withhold their contribution as long as possible.

It is highly probable that the parochial schoolmaster was able to reflect bitterly on the saying "to him that hath shall be given"; for the parishes which paid the highest salaries would no doubt be the parishes with the best attended schools, and therefore with the highest return from school fees. By the end of the century, however, the variation in salaries affected the relative positions of the parochial schoolmasters little - all had at least their 100 marks Scots. But none the less there was still a very wide variation in their total incomes. According to the Statistical Account, the schoolmasters of Monimail, Beath, and Carnock had yearly incomes of £14, £15-16, and £15.16s.8d respectively - incomes no doubt much the same as those received by the schoolmasters in other small parishes such as Cults and Dairsie. (6) As compared with

1. Ibid 28/5/1713 & 19/10/1748. 2. Ibid 9/7/1707 & 10/7/1734. 3. Ibid 1/8/1716. 4. MS. Cupar Pres. 22/9/1714. 5. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 29/6/1758.
- 6. There were 30 pupils attending Beath school, and about 40 at Cults school. Both paid the same salaries - 100 marks Scots. O.S.A.

these, the schoolmaster of Markinch - with a total income of £50 - and those of Carnbee, Culross, Kennoway, Kilrenny, and Scoonie, with £40 or thereabouts - were very well off indeed. (1)

The condition of the most poorly paid parochial schoolmasters must have been pitiable; and at the end of the century their case was being taken up. "The very small encouragement given to schoolmasters", reads the article on Dunbog in the Statistical Account, "is one of the greatest evils; for it is not only an unspeakable loss to the poor men who teach, but to the rising generation. There are not a few parishes in this neighbourhood where the salary is only 100 merks: some have £100 Scots. But what man fit to teach can live upon this? What knowledge can he communicate? ... The poorer sort of people are left without a remedy, and must send their children to the parish schoolmasters, such as they are". (2) And, according to the minister of Kemback, "the salaries and perquisites of established schoolmasters are in general so exceeding small that they do not exceed, and often hardly equal, the wages of an ordinary mechanick". (3)

This opinion requires some examination. From the wage rates given in the Statistical Account, it seems that a master wright or a journeyman mason could earn some £22 a year, while a labourer would earn £13.13s. (4) It is not improbable then that at the end of the century about half of the landward schoolmasters - those with much the same conditions as the schoolmasters of Beath and Carnock - were indeed worse off than an artisan in continuous employment. But it seems fairly clear that there were many landward schoolmasters who were sub-

1. The figure for Culross had to be worked out from details of salary and numbers attending the school - (Salary, casualties etc. = £18.7s.6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d; Fees - £27). So 2. with Kilrenny (£40). The total incomes for the others are given in the O.S.A. 3. O.S.A. Dunbog - Written by Dr. Greenlaw, minister of Creich. Similar views 4. O.S.A. Falkland & Kinghorn. 5. O.S.A. Kemback. 6. O.S.A. Culross & Monimail assuming 300 working days at 1s.6d per diem - the rates given). The figure for the labourer is given in the Monimail article. In Cults the day labourer (with 300 days) would earn some £12.10s a year; in Cupar from £15 to £22 a year.

stantially better off than the "ordinary mechanick".

In addition to his salary, (1) his fees, his casualties, and his salary as Session Clerk (for which he did not always have to do the work; at the beginning of the century the Minister of Culross "eased (the schoolmaster) of the burden of filling up the Book ... for the benefits of the scholars" (2)) the schoolmaster might hold other posts of profit - but not always with the approval of the authorities. For example one schoolmaster acted as "physician and chirurgion, which (was) alleged to be prejudicial to the school" (3) - though whether the complaint led to the schoolmaster's giving up his other employment we do not know. Another was "factor to the Earl of Morton and (kept) a public change" - occupations that engaged him so much that he left the school in the hands of an assistant. He was dismissed from his school. (4) A third, schoolmaster of Kinross in 1715, was in his spare time - and at other times - a candlemaker and "Collector of the Cess", with the result that his school declined from 70 to 20 pupils in two and a half years. Not unnaturally he too was deposed. (5) The problem of other occupations, indeed, was evidently very much in the minds of Dunfermline Presbytery; for in 1746 they decreed that the only additional post the schoolmaster might hold was that of Precentor (which included, of course, that of Session Clerk). (6) The other Presbyteries, however, made no such rule; and in the last decade of the century there were at

1. Which he might induce the heritors to increase by threatening to remove - as in Auchtermuchty in 1748; the schoolmaster was offered a post in Kennoway - to keep him the Kirk Session gave him an extra £1 a year. (MS. Auchtermuchty K.S. 7/3/1748) In Collessie "the schoolmaster had the offer of a better place ... the heritors have agreed to add £7 sterling to his salary". (MS. Collessie Heritors 12/5/1792) 2. MS. Culross K.S. 28/5/1702 & 22/4/1707. 3. Ibid 9/8/1709. 4. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 13/7/1715. 5. Ibid 16/3/1715; 4/4/1715; & 8/2/1716. One of this schoolmaster's answers to the Presbytery is interesting. Asked if he did not often go to Edinburgh, he said that "sometimes ... I have gone ... in order to court a wife, or buy a sute of cloaths, or a classick author I had then present occasion for". Ibid 16/3/1715. 6. Ibid 19/2/1746.

least two schoolmasters in the bounds of St. Andrews Presbytery who acted as landmeasurers, with the full approval of the Presbytery. (1)

How long did the parochial schoolmaster stay in his post?

Again (in the eighteenth century as in the seventeenth) we meet the most extreme variations - not only between parish and parish but within the same parish. In Auchtertool, for example, there were at least eight schoolmasters between 1706 and 1750; but one served from 1750 to 1800; in Balmerino there were ten between 1705 and 1781; then one was appointed who remained until 1830; Saline had at least 17 between 1705 and 1801 - but one of them remained for 16 years. On the other hand we have a few parishes each with a small number of very long service schoolmasters. In Carnbee three schoolmasters taught between them for almost 140 years: the first from 1705 to 1762; the next from 1762 to 1782; and the third from then until 1844. In Kingsbarns there were only three schoolmasters between 1688 and 1804 - with periods of service of 25, 47, and 44 years. (2) In Newburgh there were two schoolmasters from 1730 to 1826 - one from 1730 to 1775, the other from then until 1826. (3)

1. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 7/3/1799 & 11/12/1799. It is usual for writers on Scottish education to make a great deal of "the schoolmaster as pluralist" - "tempted into supplementary occupations" to make a living. (e.g. H. Grey Graham, op.cit. p.432, and Laurance J. Saunders, "Scottish Democracy" (Oliver & Boyd 1950) p.282) In fact, in spite of the Culross minister's statement about "taking the burden off the clerk", and as anyone can verify by examining a number of Kirk Session Records, the work of Session Clerk was not heavy. Some clerks wrote fairly full accounts of the weekly meeting of the Session, some contented themselves with 2 or 3 lines, and some (unfortunately for us) wrote nothing at all for years. As Registrar, a clerk in a largish parish would enter 31 deaths, 16 marriages, and 54 births in a year - two entries a week. (O.S.A. Kettle. Similar figures in Ceres and Inverkeithing. Parishes like Cults and Dairsie had of course far fewer births, marriages, and deaths - 17, 10, and 6 being usual.) As to being Precentor - the schoolmaster, like every other respectable member of the community, would have been in church on Sunday anyway. The Session Clerk of a present day Kirk is often a schoolmaster; the church organist is often a music teacher in a local school. 2. Kingsbarns must have been very healthy - in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the ministers were longlasting too. 3. See Appendix.

There were obvious advantages in having schoolmasters who had grown old in the service of the community but there were disadvantages too. In the absence of any superannuation scheme, those with ad vitam appointments would cling to their posts. "For the past 30 years" we read in the Statistical Account, "the person who supplied the charge (of schoolmaster) was not qualified for instructing youth in any single branch of education... About a twelvemonth ago, the heritors agreed to give the old schoolmaster an annuity of £11.10s sterling, during life, and his wife ~~at~~ after his death, on condition of his resigning his office..." (1) And even where the schoolmaster had not a life appointment, he might be retained long after his period of usefulness was over because "he was an old man and if they should depose him he would have nothing to live upon and so would be a burden to the poor box". (2)

Luckily not all parishes behaved like this. Sometimes the schoolmaster was retired on his full salary, (3) sometimes with a pension from the Kirk Session, (4) and sometimes an assistant was appointed to help the aged and feeble incumbent. (5) And of course this problem could only arise where the schoolmaster had a life appointment - and there were many such. (6) But appointments for short periods are found too - at the beginning, middle and end

1. O.S.A. Kemback. Much earlier we find another schoolmaster (Aitken in Auchtermuchty) agreeing to resign on pension, left in possession of the Session Clerkship. 2. MS. Cupar Pres. 12/8/1702 - Visitation of Abdie. The statement was made by the minister concerning his Precentor, who was Session Clerk and Schoolmaster. 3. e.g. in Kennoway (MS. Kennoway K.S. 25/5/1748) & in Wemyss (MS. Wemyss K.S. 8/8/1749. 4. As in Kingsbarns in 1759 - MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 12/6/1759. 5. MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 26/10/1795 & 5/11/1800, & in Auchterderran - (Houston, Auchterderran, p.280). 6. The exact numbers cannot be given owing to the disappearance of most of the Heritors' Records for this period. But among those who were appointed for life were Mr. Liddell of Kingsbarns (MS. Kingsbarns K.S. 6/7/1713); Mr. Marr of Ballingry (Davie, Old Church Life in Ballingry, p.75); and obviously from the circumstances of their demission or dismissal, Mr. Cree of Torryburn (MS. Dunfermline Pres. 8/1/1724); Mr. Christie of Aberdour (Ibid 17/8/1715); Mr. Rankin of Auchterderran (MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 5/12/1759); and the schoolmasters of Wemyss after 1697 (MS. Wemyss K.S. 8/8/1749, 1/12/1755, 11/11/1767 & 13/12/1795); and those of Kennoway after 1722. (See for example MS. Kennoway K.S. 25/5/1748.

of the century. In 1697, for example, Wemyss Kirk Session appointed a schoolmaster for six months; in 1741 Auchtertool Heritors appointed one for only three months; and after 1790 the heritors of Kinglassie, Markinch, and Portmoak made appointments of from one to four years. (1)

Many - but it is impossible to say how many - of the parochial schoolmasters were students of Divinity or expectants. (2) Some of them found churches, (3) and some did not, but remained stickit ministers in the parish school. (4) And the majority of the other schoolmasters, as we have seen, were competent to teach "the Grammar" - were, that is to say, graduates - able (and no doubt eager) to prepare their brightest pupils for the University. (5) But not all the parochial schoolmasters, as we know, were graduates. None the less, we must not imagine them to be as poorly educated as the semi-literate drudges who often conducted schools in wealthier England. Mr. Thomas Marr, schoolmaster of Ballingry, was only educated "to qualifie him to teach a Country School"; nonetheless he could write with vigour when his position

1. MS. Wemyss K.S. 26/11/1697; Stevenson, Auchtertool, p.124; MS. Kinglassie Heritors 15/10/1794 (3 years) & 4/8/1795 (4 years); MS. Markinch Heritors 18/10/1798 (1 year); MS. Portmoak Heritors 2/4/1801 (1 year). This parish also appointed for 1 year (Ibid 2/9/1779) and "at pleasure" (Ibid 7/2/1794).
2. I have counted 27 in 19 parishes - but there were probably many more. Only occasionally is the fact of a schoolmaster's being a student of Divinity mentioned in the Kirk Session records; the Presbytery recorded when he "entered on trials" for the ministry. The 27 I have counted were nearly all mentioned by the Presbyteries.
3. e.g. Mr. Cars, of Scoonie, who became Minister of Abernethy in 1739 (MS. Scoonie K.S. 29/5/1739); Mr. John Row of Portmoak - Minister of Kinross (MS. Dunfermline Pres. 7/8/1700); & Mr. Richardson of Abbots-hall, then Burntisland - Minister of Newburn (MS. Burntisland B.R. 16/3/1769).
4. e.g. Mr. David Tod of Kennoway (MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 7/9/1791) and Mr. John Fraser of Aberdour (MS. Dunfermline Pres. 26/8/1730 & MS. Aberdour K.S. 17/11/1762).
5. And some who were not their pupils. In Scoonie, Jerome Stone, who left school and became a chapman, then itinerant bookseller, "made application to the then parish schoolmaster Mr John Turcan for his assistance" (in learning Latin Grammar), received it, went to St. Andrews University, and ended as Rector of Dunkeld School. O.S.A., Scoonie.

was endangered by the attempt of some heritors to have him dismissed, six years after his appointment. "It will be hard to conceive how any human breast can be actuated by such stinging Envy as to attack a Man whom Fortune has placed in so humble a Station yet it is well known he is indebted to some Heritors of the Parish for some flagrant Civilities who while they sit basquing in the Sun shine of Fortune seem not only to grudge to the Respondent and his Wife and six helpless Children this miserable Comfort but exert themselves with unwearied Diligence to deprive them of it". And when his lack of popularity was cited as a reason for getting rid of him, he declared "there is no such maxim in Church Politicks as to authorise the taking away a Man's Bread for Want of Popularitie". It is pleasant to know that Mr. Marr routed his enemies, and reigned in the parish school for another 38 years. (1)

But indeed there were all sorts in the ranks of the parish schoolmasters - not only those who were held in high respect, and could look after themselves, (2) but pitiable wretches - a suicide, (3) an embezzler, (4) drunkards, swearers, and immoral livers. (5) But it is best to leave the

1. MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 2/2/1763.

2. Mr. Alexander Cowan's schoolroom in Wemyss was entered by W.K---, merchant, "like a madman ... with a big ashen staff ... Mr Cowan ordered him to get him gone ... which he refusing Mr. C. was obliged to beat him to the school door". MS. Wemyss K.S. 17/2/1721.

3. Mr. Henry Stephenson of Kennoway, who "cut his own throat". MS. Kennoway K.S. 18/6/1701.

4. MS. Kirkcaldy K.S. 28/7/1756.

5. MS. Wemyss K.S. 10/8/1699; MS. Kirkcaldy Pres. 28/7/1756; 16/2/1791; MS. Dunfermline Pres. 9/10/1728; MS. Cupar Pres. 19/9/1727. Of Mr. Tod of Kennoway it was said that "when the drap sap was taken, he had the power o it" (swearing).

century not with these in our minds, but with others, surely more representative, like the schoolmaster of Elie, who "filled the office ... for upward of 30 years. He was a good scholar, and a Cheerful Companion"; (1) or like the schoolmaster of Culross whose elegiast wrote

"This station well he fitted was to fill
Both for arithmetic and classic skill...
In youth's improvement thus his day was spent
Himself still regular and diligent.
His private character no vice did stain
His social life obliging and humane:
At length to death the tribute due he paid
And to a better station was conveyed." (2)

1. Mr. Matthew Taylor - MS. Elie P.R. 20/4/1807. The Parish Registers kept by Taylor are written in a very fine hand, and very carefully annotated.
2. Verses on his tombstone in Abbey Churchyard, Culross. (A.S.Cunningham, "Culross Past & Present" - Leven, 1910, p.61.)

The Nineteenth Century.

By the Schoolmasters Act of 1803, (1) which with minor amendments was the foundation of the educational system of Scotland until 1861, the heritors were required to provide in every parish except those that consisted only of a royal burgh a commodious school, a dwelling house of two apartments and a garden of not less than a quarter of a Scots acre, (2) for the master, and a salary of not less than 300 merks and more than 400 merks (and after 1828 the equivalent of not less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ chalders and not more than 2 chalders of oatmeal). Since only 9 of the royal burghs of Fife maintained a Burgh School, the heritors had the duty of providing 54 schools; for there had been no increase in the number of parishes in the county. (3) Between 1801 and 1861 the population increased from 93,743 to 154,770; and of the 154,770 some 56,000 were in the royal burghs which maintained burgh schools, and the remainder in the non-burgh parishes. (4) There were, that is to say, 54 parochial schoolmasters to about 100,000 of a population in 1861. Moreover, although there was an over-all increase of population, there were a number of rural parishes with only a very slight increase or even a decrease. (5) The increase was due almost entirely to the terrific expansion of the industrialised parts of the county. Scoonie increased from 1681 to 3241; Abbotshall from 2,186 (in 1791) to 5,193; Beath from about 500

1. 45 Geo III, Cap.54. 2. Or the price of 2 bolls of oatmeal in lieu.
 3. After 1856 Lochgelly was erected into a quoad sacra parish with its own school. (Jamie, Ballingry, p.77) 4. These figures have been worked out from "The Population of Scotland" (S.H.S.) and the populations given in Westwood's Directory (Cupar 1866).
 5. Flisk had 300 inhabitants in 1801, and 313 in 1861.
- | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|---|-----|---|-------|---|-----|---|---|
| Dairsie | " | 550 | " | 1801, | " | 628 | " | " |
| Logie | " | 425 | " | 1791, | " | 410 | " | " |
| Kilmany | " | 369 | " | 1790, | " | 656 | " | " |
| Newburn | " | 412 | " | 1801, | " | 375 | " | " |

to 2,400; Auchterderran from 1,200 to 3,457. In certain of the burghs the increase was as striking: in 60 years the population of Dunfermline rose from about 10,000 to 21,017; and of Dysart from some 5,000 to nearly 9,000; of Kirkcaldy from 3,248 to 6,061. (1)

This great and uneven expansion of population strained the parochial system to breaking point. As we have seen, before 1800 the majority of Fife children who went to school at all went to Adventure, Privately Endowed, or Subscription Schools. This state of affairs continued. In 1834 there were 62 parochial and burgh schools in the county, and nearly 200 others; (2) in 1840 (according to the Presbytery Returns to the General Assembly), 28 Subscription Schools, 8 Burgh Schools, 24 wholly or partly endowed schools, and 116 Adventure Schools in the Presbyteries of Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, Cupar, and St. Andrews - that is in Fife and Kinross. In the parochial schools there were 5,032 pupils, in the non-parochial, 10,417 (of whom probably some 2,000 were taught in the Burgh Schools, (3) including the Madras Academies of St. Andrews and Cupar). (4) Twenty years later the numbers were:- (in round figures) parochial schools 5,000, non-parochial 13,000. (5) Thus the position in Fife was very similar to the position in the country as a whole - the parochial schools supplied less than one third of the demand. (6)

1. Some of the figures for the earliest period are from O.S.A., some from N.S.A. The figures for 1861 are from Westwood's Directory. 2. Figures worked out from N.S.A. 3. This figure is very approximate - worked out from N.S.A. figures of attendance and from H.M.I. returns in 1858. The numbers used are:- Dunfermline 200, Inverkeithing 100, Kirkcaldy 70, Burntisland 100, Dysart 120, Kinghorn 120, St. Andrews 798, Crail 93, Cupar 485. 4. Later Bell-Baxter. 5. The Presbytery returns including Madras Academy, Cupar, as a parochial school in 1860 were:- Parochial 5,499; Non-Parochial 12,619. Assuming some 499 for Cupar Madras we arrive at the above figures. 6. "The parochial schools supply only one third of the demand". H.M.I. Gordon "Report on Elementary Education in Scotland, Feb. 1845" in "Minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education 1843-4, H.M.S.O.

The heritors carried out their fairly easy duties of providing a parish schoolmaster and a parish school not too unsatisfactorily in this century. On the whole, the schools were kept in a reasonable state of repair, and many were rebuilt in the first half of the century. (1) As a result, when Government inspection of the schools was instituted, the reports were on the whole commendatory. "Buildings, most commodious, highly creditable to the heritors ... furniture excellent" was the description of Ceres; "Building excellent; Furniture and Playground excellent" of Collessie; "Buildings - an ornament to the place ... Furniture - excellent" of Falkland. (2) Not all the schools, however, were commended. The furniture in Elie was only "pretty fair"; in Seconie the schoolroom was too small, the desks were "old and insufficient, the furniture poor"; in Kennoway the schoolroom was "rather too small for the present attendance", the desks and furniture were "fair". (3)

Of course there was considerable need for building; many of the buildings inherited from the previous century were poor enough affairs; and as late as 1830 we hear of "several holes in the floor dangerous to children" in Collessie school; (4) and in 1849 of the decayed flooring of the schoolroom, the much worn writing desks - "insuch a shattered condition as to be destructive to the children's clothes", the "defective" height, the smoking

1. e.g. MS. Abdie Heritors 8/6/1804 & 1/9/1824; MS. Aberdour Heritors 2/4/1800 (at cost of £302); MS. Anstruther Wester Heritors 5/12/1829; Auchterderran (Houston, Auchterderran, p.286); Balmerino (Campbell, Balmerino, p.480); MS. Carnbee Heritors 16/9/1819 & 20/4/1863 (Schoolhouse £300); Carnock (Webster, Carnock, p.176); MS. Ceres Heritors 9/10/1835 (£300) and Schoolhouse Ibid 19/4/1850 (£296.10s.); MS. Collessie Heritors 19/11/1846; MS. Falkland Heritors 3/5/1800 & 15/3/1849; MS. Kennoway Heritors 21/8/1809; Kilconquhar (Dick, Collinsburgh, p.102); MS. Kilmany Heritors 9/8/1839; etc. etc.
2. Other good reports were given of the accommodation in Dumbog and Wemyss. Dr. Woodford's Report on Schools of Fife in "Minutes of Committee of Privy Council on Education 1854". H.M.S.O. 3. Ibid. 4. MS. Collessie Heritors 31/12/1830.

chimney, and the lack of shelter or "other appurtenances" in the playground of Falkland School. (1) Moreover, the increasing numbers attending many of the parish schools, even in the absence of improved standards of accommodation, would have involved considerable rebuilding or enlargement. Not that the official allowance of area per pupil was generous. A classroom of 41 feet by 17½ feet was reckoned sufficient to hold 90 children. (2) But into such unspacious rooms would often be crammed twice the number of children they were designed to hold. Kennoway School, built in 1810 (3), for 90 pupils, was attended by 190 in 1854-55, and by 186 in 1855-56. (4) Monimail School before 1820 was only 20 feet long by 15½ feet broad - suitable for 40 to 50 children - but it was attended by some 70 pupils in Summer, and from 90 to 100 in Winter. (5) It is only fair to say that when the Kennoway heritors received the complaints from their schoolmaster they set to and rebuilt. (6) But the Monimail heritors had known for at least four years that their school was inadequate before they did anything; (7) and even after 1850, when pressure from both Presbytery and Her Majesty's Inspectors had increased, a stubborn heritor could prevent anything being done for a long time. "The schoolroom" reported Kirkcaldy Presbytery concerning Scoonie "is altogether inadequate. It was built about 50 years ago to contain 100, and sometimes about 200 are crammed into it ... because the principal heritor, a Free churchman ... declares he cannot conscientiously give one farthing for the support of the Established Church". (8)

1. MS. Falkland Heritors 4/1/1849. cf. Abdie School in 1824 - "a very paltry and uncomfortable place". (MS. Abdie Her. 28/4/1824) 2. "By Government reckoning" - MS. Kennoway Her. 17/1/1856. 3. And then only after a prod by the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy - MS. Kennoway K.S. 4/4/1810. 4. Ibid 17/1/1856. 5. MS. Monimail Her. 21/7/1820. 6. MS. Kennoway Her. 17/1/1856. 7. MS. Monimail Her. 2/8/1816. 8. Gen. Assembly Education Committee - Kirkcaldy Pres. Report. "The long expected improvement not yet affected" - H.M.I. Middleton - Report on Scoonie 14/6/1853 - in Minutes of Committee of P.C., op.cit. The Pres. complained again in 1854. The Pres. of St. Andrews reported very adversely on the accommodation in Ferry-Port-on-Graig in 1852 and 1855. Ibid.

Within the classroom, over-crowded (a small minority, as the Presbytery returns show - by the standards of 1850) or not, the lay out of benches and desks was being altered. About 1830 a new plan of seating was introduced. The arrangement specified by the Kinglassie Heritors "Conform to a Plan ... now generally adopted in other Parishes" was:- "The whole desks and seats to be taken down, and a new desk put up close to the walls and gables, a new seat, for the north wall, and the old seats to be used on the South, East, and West to be fixed in the feet the Desks to be bevelled $13\frac{1}{2}$ broad by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick of Memel timber to have a flat top next the wall 3 inches broad". (1) This arrangement of "wall desks" was found in many parishes in 1853; (2) but by that time moveable desks, parallel desks, and even "gallery desks" were also making their appearance. (3) The blackboard and maps were usual; (4) and so too, no doubt, were "globes and diagrams of objects" such as H.M.I. Dr. Wood-

1. MS. Kinglassie Heritors 3/9/1835. "The tables (as in the Madras or National School system) are placed round the walls of the schoolroom, and the remainder of the floor is left quite unoccupied by furniture except the master's desk... One half of the scholars always sit at the desks with their faces to the wall employed in learning to write or cipher, while the other half stand on the floor, either reading, or practising the rules of arithmetic." (Sheriff Wood's description of the Edinburgh Sessional School, in John Wood: "An Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School", Edinburgh, 1840, p.84)

2. Ceres:- desks wall; so Kemback, Kennoway, Kilconquhar, Wemyss, Dunbog. Minutes of Committee of P.C. 1854.

3. Desks gallery referred to only in Lochgelly Junior School (non-parochial). Partly wall, partly moveable in Elie; partly parallel, partly moveable in Culross; wall and parallel in Kirkcaldy B.S.; parallel in Pathhead (non-parochial). Ibid.

4. They are mentioned in nearly all the schools examined by H.M.I. in 1853. In Leuchars in 1856 the Heritors agreed to purchase "another b.b. for the school". MS. Leuchars Heritors 24/10/1856.

ford recommended the heritors of Collessie to purchase for their school. (1) And for the first time we find mention of "deals or shelves below the desks for holding books", (2) and racks for hanging the children's caps and knobs for hanging clothes. (3)

The parish schools were obviously better heated and better lit than ever before. In some at least of the schools stoves were installed - sometimes by the schoolmaster. (4) And after 1840 some of the schoolrooms were lit by gas (5) - though it will be remembered that there were many parts of rural Fife which no gas mains were to reach, in that century or this. One group of heritors, too, laid down rules for the lighting of the schoolroom fire. The Master was to be responsible, and was to see that it was lit not later than 9 a.m. in Winter. The same heritors ordered that "the school should be swept and dusted on Wednesdays and Saturdays after school hours,

1. MS. Collessie Heritors 27/12/1850. In 1867 the schoolmaster asked the heritors to purchase (amongst other things) "a ball frame for teaching elementary arithmetic (4s)..." and diagrams for physiology of the human body. Ibid 7/6/1867. The inventory of maps held in Collessie School in 1862 is interesting. It runs:- "Nelson's Eastern Hemisphere; British Islands in connexion with the Continent; Christian Knowledge Society - Map of Countries of Old Testament; ditto Countries of New Testament; Parker's Geological Section of Earths Crust; Johnstone's Illustrations of Natural Philosophy No.1; ditto No.2; Johnstone's Eastern Hemisphere; ditto Western Hemisphere; ditto Asia; ditto Europe; The Americas; England; Scotland; Ireland; Palestine; S.S.A. (? Scottish Schools Association); United States; 24 diagrams of Natural History; 1 box drawing Models; Selection from Dree's drawing Book (mounted outline objects on Calico) etc.etc. Ibid 7/11/1862.
2. MS. Kinglassie Heritors 3/9/1835. In Portmoak shelves for books were also provided - not under the desks. MS. Portmoak Heritors 11/7/1833.
3. MS. Kinglassie Heritors 3/9/1835. MS. Portmoak Heritors 11/7/1833.
4. MS. Portmoak Heritors 26/1/1835; MS. Strathmiglo Heritors 25/1/1861; MS. Ceres Heritors 17/10/1845 (where the schoolmaster had put in stove).
5. MS. Leuchars Heritors 10/8/1850; MS. Newburgh Heritors 29/4/1842; MS. Anstruther Wester Heritors 3/10/1856. Cf. with Pathhead & Sinclairtown school "gas has been introduced since last visit" - H.M.I.'s report 8/7/1853 Committee of P.C. on Education.

and washed at least twice a year (once two days before the Presbytery's examination in April)". (1)

If the picture of the inside of the school that is conjured up by "washing at least twice a year" is not pleasant, it is charming compared with what we learn of the immediate surroundings of many of these buildings. In the first twenty years of the century sanitary arrangements were non-existent or primitive in the extreme. In a small rural community, with plenty of space round the school, and a school roll of 40 or 50 children, the result was not intolerable, but when the numbers at the school rose to 100, or 200, the conditions can be imagined. And sometimes, by the siting of byre or pigstye, matters were made, if possible, worse. The schoolroom in Portmoak was damp; the reason, it was found, was "a nuisance at the South West corner of the School occasioned by (the Schoolmaster's) cow byre", and "the dirty water from the kitchen". (2) But after 1820 acquiescence in the continuation of these plague spots disappeared, and as a result there was great activity in the building of "offices" or "necessaries". (3)

When the heritors of Fife came to their second task - of keeping their schools staffed and paying the legal salary - they were certainly more co-operative than their predecessors had been, and more generous

1. MS. Cameron Heritors 8/11/1861. In St. Monance the "poor scholars" were to assist in cleaning out the school. MS. St. Monance Her. 27/12/1848.
2. MS. Portmoak Her. 1/7/1830. The Heritors, to give them credit, thereupon ordered the removal of the "nuisance", the construction of a drain all round the school, and a gutter to carry off the water from the kitchen.
3. e.g. MS. Aberdour Her. 16/1/1858; MS. Cameron Her. 1/5/1857; MS. Ceres Her. 21/1/1831; MS. Culross Her. 9/7/1858; MS. Dairsie Her. 17/9/1855; MS. Elie Her. 5/8/1858; MS. Kemback Her. 8/5/1856; MS. Kinglassie Her. 22/3/1838; MS. Leslie Her. 1/8/1850 (W.C's.); MS. Leuchars Her. 24/10/1856 (new offices); MS. Scoonie Her. 13/10/1825. The following notices speak for themselves - "The Heritors regret to observe the children are still daily in the habit of relieving themselves round the school walls". MS. Leslie Her. 9/7/1869. In Aberdour, "no steps have yet (1858) been taken to provide privies for the use of the scholars ... the younger ones sit down around the public well whence a large proportion of the inhabitants are supplied with water". MS. Aberdour K.S. 16/1/1858.

than the generality of their brother heritors in the rest of Scotland. Of the 14 parishes which yield us records of the salaries paid in 1803 and 1804 (1), two paid the minimum, six paid the maximum, and the remainder paid between £18 and £20 a year. (2) After the first revision of salaries, in 1829, the position was still better: of all the parochial schoolmasters, only two received salaries below the maximum of £34.4s.4½d - those of Auchtertool and Newburn; (3) and the schoolmaster of Newburn had in addition a substantial sum as "teacher of Wood's School". (4) Moreover, when in 1854 salaries were once more revised in accordance with the 1803 Act, and the maximum was reduced by some £5, two thirds of the parishes continued to pay the old maximum. (5) But thereafter the Heritors seem to have wearied of well-doing. After the Act of 1861 raised salaries to a minimum of £35 and a maximum of £70, of the 24 parishes for which figures are available, not one increased their payments to the new

1. Abdie, Creich, Dunbog, Falkland, Monimail, Newburgh; Aberdour, Dalgety; Auchterderran, Kennoway, Kinglassie, Markinch; Carnbee (Heritors' Records) and Dunino (N.S.A.). 2. Dalgety and Creich, minimum, (MS. Dalgety Her. 9/9/1803; MS. Creich Her. 23/9/1803). Maximum - Aberdour (Her. 25/1/1804), Auchterderran (Houston op.cit. p.281), Markinch (Her. 1/10/1803), Kinglassie (Her. 18/10/1803), Falkland (Her. 8/9/1803), and Dunino (N.S.A.). Saline, which was paying 400 merks (the maximum) in 1819, should probably be added. (MS. Saline Her. 5/2/1819)
3. N.S.A., separate parishes. Where ever possible, the salary given there has been checked from the Heritors' Records. No discrepancy has been found. "His salary to be the maximum, which he understood all the neighbouring parochial schoolmasters had obtained" (MS. Newburgh Heritors 13/3/1829). 4. "The Heritors have always allowed a liberal salary" (in 1834 they gave £29.18s.10d) "... Besides it has been the practice for a long period to elect the Parish Schoolmaster to the office of teacher of Wood's School ... the combined emoluments have always commanded the services of able teachers". (MS. Newburn Her. 28/12/1872)
5. Figures are available for 23 parishes; 16 made up the new maximum to the old - Abdie (Her. 29/10/1859); Creich (Her. 29/10/1859); Cults (Her. 26/4/1854); Dunbog (Her. 14/5/1854); Dairsie (Her. 11/5/1859); Kilmany (Her. 4/5/1854); Logie (Her. 6/5/1854); Moonzie (Her. 27/10/1857); Newburgh (Her. 8/5/1854); Strathmiglo (Her. 17/5/1854); Auchterderran (Houston, p.238); Cameron (Her. 7/10/1859); Dunino (Her. 14/6/1854); Leuchars (Her. 29/4/1854); Pittenweem (Her. 19/11/1859); St. Monance (Her. 27/10/1859).

maximum, (1) only eight paid £60 or more, (2) and six paid less than £40 a year. (3)

The parochial schoolmaster's salary, however, might be much more than the amount paid him by the Heritors. (4) After 1846 he was entitled, if he held a Government Certificate of Merit, to receive sums ranging from £10 to £30 direct from the Treasury in augmentation of his salary. (5) But until 1856 very few of the parochial schoolmasters of Fife obtained a grant. (6) Thereafter the numbers increased rapidly; and in 1864 there were 23 who held the Certificate, though not all (in St. Andrews Presbytery only 3 out of 9 Certificated Teachers) received the Augmentation. (7)

The payment of an augmentation was conditional upon the payment of voluntary grants to the schoolmaster by the parish. (8) The Committee of the Privy Council, one can be sure, did not always know how this condition was met: in at least one parish the additional £9.17s.4d "required to meet the demands of the Privy Council" was obtained, on the advice of the schoolmaster,

1. Though later, in 1864, the heritors of Ceres did begin to pay their schoolmaster the maximum. (MS. Ceres Her. 24/10/1864) 2. Ceres - £60, later £70 (Her. 23/4/1861 & 24/10/1864); Falkland - £60 (Her. 9/11/1861); Strathmiglo - £60 (Her. 7/11/1861); Auchterderran - £60 (Houston, p.288); Leslie - £65 (Her. 1/11/1861); Cameron £60 (Her. 28/10/1861); Leuchars - £60 (Her. 2/11/1861); Pittenweem - £60 (Her. 2/11/1861). 3. Creich - £35 (Her. 2/11/1861); Dalgety - £35.2s (Her. 17/5/1861); Markinch - £35 (but later raised to £55) (Her. 4/11/1861 & 23/1/1865); Elie - £37 (raised to £50 in 1869) (Her. 5/11/1861 & 18/5/1869); Newburn - £35 (raised to £50 in 1863) (Her. 23/10/1861 & 7/2/1863); and St. Monance - £35 (Her. 23/10/1861). 4. Leaving out of account for the moment income from fees and from Session Clerkships etc. 5. Henry Craik - "The State in its Relation to Education" - (MacMillan 1884) pp.35 ff. & J.Kerr, "Scottish Education" (C.U.P. 1910) p.201. 6. In 1853 there were 16 Certificated Teachers in the County, only three of them parochial schoolmasters, and only one of these (J.Trotter of Ceres) certainly in receipt of an Augmentation Grant. (Calendar of Certificated Teachers in "Minutes of P.C. on Education", 1854) & MS. Ceres Her. 23/8/1852. 7. Educational Committee of General Assembly - Report, 1864. 8. The schoolmasters of Ceres, Culross, Dalgety, Dairsie, & Ferry Port-on-Craig were all given increases of from £5 to £10.10s a year to qualify them for the Government Grant. (MS. Ceres Her. 23/8/1852; MS. Culross Her. 4/8/1871; MS. Dalgety Her. 17/5/1861; MS. Dairsie Her. 11/5/1859; & MS. Ferry K.S. 14/12/1856)

by his "ceasing to lift the Session Clerk's salary and secondly by (his) paying over to the Moderator the fees for the Proclamation of Banns of Marriage till they should collectively amount to £9.17s.4d". (1)

There was another method by which the schoolmaster could obtain a grant from the Treasury - and in the process obtain much needed relief in handling his 100 or 200 school children. In 1846 the system of employing and training Pupil Teachers was instituted; and schoolmasters who took in hand the instruction of one, two, or three Pupil Teachers were paid £5, £9, or £12. In 1853 many of the parochial schoolmasters were supplementing their incomes by taking on these young apprentices - for example the schoolmasters of Kenno-way, Culross, and Wemyss had two each, the schoolmaster of Falkland had four; (2) and ten years later there were 41 Pupil Teachers employed in the parochial schools of the county. (3)

Almost as important to the schoolmaster as his living while he was able to teach was the provision made for him after his retiral. At last the parochial schoolmaster had security of tenure - all appointments (except those of interim schoolmasters who were appointed to "continue the school" until a new schoolmaster had been elected) were now "ad vitam aut culpam". (4) The schoolmaster who wanted to retire could therefore bargain with the heritors, and if he were not satisfied with their terms, could cling to his post. But in fact this was not necessary. If the heritors had behaved as so many of

1. MS. Ferry K.S. 7/5/1859. 2. H.M.I. Middleton's Report, op.cit. 3. Report of the Education Committee of the General Assembly, 1863. 4. I have come across no appointment for a term or "at pleasure". (On 15/5/1820, however, the heritors of Culross made an appointment for a trial period of 1 year. The schoolmaster then appointed, however, claimed in Oct. 1821 that he was "the established legal schoolmaster" to the obvious surprise of the heritors. He was retired on pension on 21/3/1835.) Only rarely, e.g. MS. Leuchars Her. 1/3/1825 and MS. Collessie Her. 7/6/1851, is the type of appointment specified in the Records; but the great number of retirals on full pension indicate plainly that "ad vitam" was the rule.

their predecessors had done, they would have left the old schoolmaster to struggle on long after his period of usefulness was over, rather than pay two schoolmasters. But of the 35 groups of heritors whose records have survived, 13 pensioned off one or two of their schoolmasters between 1803 and 1872, (1) and paid them various sums ranging from the £27.11s.9d by St. Monance in 1861 (the salary, the legal maximum, their schoolmaster was receiving before his retirement) to the £45 by Culross in 1865.

The last obligation of the heritors - the provision of the famous two-roomed "palaces for dominies" - had to be fulfilled; but in some places only the bare legal minimum was provided, or little more; and even at the end of the period, the schoolmaster's house was often a poor ramshackle affair. The schoolhouse of Monimail had a very inconvenient kitchen - "a large press in one corner (left) no room for a bed". (2) In May, 1857, it was reported that the windows of Logie schoolhouse were "in a great state of decay; that nearly the whole would require to be removed"; that "the outside door (was) very open, and readily (admitted) both wind and rain"; that "the ceiling of the upper flat (was) likely to fall down"; and that the whole house was "very damp, ill smelled and badly ventilated"; but none the less, having considered this report, the heritors decided "to defer action meantime". (3) But a year later they ordered improvements to proceed "as rapidly as possible". (4) In Kemback "the schoolmaster's house (was) considerably decayed from age" reported Her Majesty's Inspector in 1853. (5) In Portmoak

1. Abdie (MS. Her. 2/12/1839); Cultra (MS. Her. 28/2/1851); Creich (MS. Her. 12/5/1869); Kilmany (MS. Her. 13/10/1866); Aberdour (MS. Her. 27/2/1846); Culross (MS. Her. 31/8/1865); Dalgety (MS. Her. 10/1/1859); Leslie (MS. Her. 2/2/1838 & 9/12/1850); Markinch (MS. Her. 28/2/1834); Cameron (MS. Her. 7/8/1868); Carnbee (MS. Her. 20/3/1844); Dunino (MS. Her. 7/4/1854); St. Monance (MS. Her. 25/10/1861). 2. MS. Monimail Her. 2/8/1816. The schoolhouse was enlarged then, and four years later. Ibid 21/7/1820. 3. MS. Logie Her. 9/5/1857. 4. Ibid 5/6/1858. 5. H.M.I. Woodford's Report, op.cit.

(in 1830), where the dwelling house consisted of three apartments - a kitchen, a bedroom (each 12 feet by 14 feet 10 inches) and a sleeping closet - the heritors were informed it "would add to its comfort if the walls were lathed and plastered". (1)

But not all - and quite possibly not even the majority (2) - of the schoolmasters' houses were like these. It will be remembered that at the time the Old Statistical Account was written the parochial schoolmasters of Largo and Leuchars had room for boarders. The schoolmaster's house at Markinch was rebuilt in 1829 (3) - a separate house, and not, as was common, the upper storey of the school - and enlarged (at a cost of £100) in 1835 to "beyond the statutory amount". (4) And the heritors of Kinglassie even went to the length of approving plans for a house of six rooms - later modified in some way to make it less expensive - and built a house costing up to £350 in 1858. (5) The schoolmasters' dwellings in Aberdour and Kennoway, too, had considerably more than the "statutory provision": in Aberdour the schoolmaster had the upper two storeys of a three storey house; in Kennoway the upper storey and garrets of a house 40 feet long by 18 feet broad. (6)

As time went on there is no doubt that on the whole the school houses were made more pleasant places to live in. In 1856 the inside of the

1. MS. Portmoak Her. 14/9/1830. 2. The remark in the N.S.A. article on the schoolmaster's accommodation - "he has only the legal accommodation of two rooms" - would seem to indicate that the legal accommodation was often, or very often, exceeded. 3. MS. Markinch Her. 7/1/1829. 4. Ibid 21/8/1835 & N.S.A. Markinch. So also Kilrenny schoolhouse - "more than the legal accommodation" - N.S.A. Kilrenny. 5. MS. Kinglassie Her. 16/5/1856 & 8/3/1858. 6. MS. Aberdour Her. 2/10/1802 - "Three storey house - school on ground floor 32' x 16'; 1st storey 12' high; each of other storeys 8' high"; and MS. Kennoway Her. 13/7/1809 - "Schoolroom to be about 40' x 18' within walls - 1st storey 12' high floor to ceiling - 2nd storey 9' clear; upper storey to have 2 or 3 feet wall above the floor for garrets - the schoolmaster's house to be above the schoolroom".

Newburgh schoolmaster's house was papered and painted; (1) in 1861 the Abdie heritors agreed "to paint the woodwork in the schoolmaster's house, and paper the new room and lobby". (2) And gas lighting came into the schoolhouse at the same time as it came into the school. (3)

It is, of course, extremely difficult to make any exact comparison between the schoolmaster's living in the first half of the nineteenth century and that of his predecessor 50 or 100 years before. But the basis for such a comparison is afforded, not only by the details of salaries, accommodation, and conditions of service, but also by the figures which the authors of the New Statistical Account worked out for his income from fees and session clerking. The smallest income recorded was that of the schoolmaster of Ballingry, who had £41 exclusive of his salary for being Session Clerk - which probably did not bring him in more than £6. At the other end of the scale were the schoolmaster of Scoonie, who was reckoned to have £34 of salary, £70 of fees, and £20 as heritors' clerk and Session Clerk - a total of £124 a year (and "a very superior dwelling house") - and the schoolmaster of Markinch with total emoluments of £126 a year. The schoolmasters of Anstruther Wester, Ceres, Falkland, and Torryburn had more than £30 a year; those of Abdie, Cameron, Dunbog and Moonzie had £50 or less. (4) Of course if the titular parish schoolmaster were no longer teaching, he would get nothing from school fees, and his assistant who took the school fees would have only a very small salary - in Kemback, for example, the salary of the assistant (who did all the work) was £14 in 1842, and only £11 in 1849. (5)

1. MS. Newburgh Her. 28/6/1856. 2. MS. Abdie Her. 2/2/1861. 3. MS. Leuchars Her. 10/3/1850 & MS. Anstruther W. Her. 3/10/1856. 4. N.S.A. With these figures compare the stipends of the Ministers of Auchtertool, Cults (£150 each) and Ballingry (£209.14s.6d) and the wages of Masons - of 2s.6d to 2s.8d a day in Creich and 12s. to 14s a week in Kennoway, N.S.A. 5. N.S.A. Kemback, & MS. Kemback Her. 29/6/1849. In Carnock the assistant who was appointed in 1839 was paid only £10 p.a. (Webster, Carnock, p.177)

To earn the largest of these incomes - and in some cases even the smaller ones - the parish schoolmaster was expected to profess an imposing array of subjects. In 1826 the heritors of Newburgh advertised for a schoolmaster to teach "English in all its branches in the most modern approved manner, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Bookkeeping, Navigation, Mathematics, and Latin, and if Greek and French, so much the better". (1) In 1853 the Presbytery of Dunfermline examined the candidate for Carnock School in "the several branches commonly taught in Parish Schools - particularly Greek, Latin, French, English, Grammar, Geography, and practical and theoretical Mathematics". (2) The Presbytery, however, was exaggerating; although very many of the schoolmasters were expected to be able to teach, in addition to the 3 Rs, Latin, Greek, and Geography, none of the "higher" subjects was taken by many of the children. In Culross parish school, (in 1835) out of 130 pupils, all were learning to read, 97 were learning to write, 67 were learning Arithmetic, 32 were learning geography, 13 were learning "Mathematics" (probably Geometry and Algebra), 3 were learning Latin, and 2 were learning Greek. (3) In 1861, according to the reports of the Presbyteries to the General Assembly's Education Committee, the position was that in the Presbytery of Dunfermline, with 665 on the rolls of the parochial schools, 436 were learning Writing, 334 Arithmetic, 340 Geography, 37 Latin, 1 Greek, 36 French, and 15 Geometry; in the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy, with 1,097 pupils, 652 were learning writing, 573 Arithmetic, 476 Geography, 42 Latin, 4 Greek, 28 French, and 17 Geometry; in the Presbytery of Cupar with 2,069 pupils, 1186 were learning writing, 1029 Arithmetic, 947 Geography, 173

1. MS. Newburgh Her. 17/5/1820. 2. Webster, Carnock, p.177. 3. N.S.A. Culross (in Vol.10 - Perth). Cf. Kemback - 70-80 pupils, only one taking Latin. N.S.A.; Leuchars - "no Latin or Greek scholars at present"; Logie - "Schoolmaster qualified to teach English Grammar, Latin, practical mathematics and geography, and sometimes has a few ... attending the higher branches"; etc. etc. N.S.A.

Latin, 6 Greek, 87 French, and 63 Geometry; and in the Presbytery of St. Andrews with 1725 pupils, 989 were learning writing, 892 Arithmetic, 701 Geography, 76 Latin, 1 Greek, 40 French, and 20 Geometry. German, it is interesting to note, was also being taught in the parochial schools - to five pupils in the bounds of Kirkcaldy and to five in the bounds of Cupar. Six years later, in 1867, there were 5660 pupils in the parochial schools of all four Presbyteries; of these 252 were learning Latin (a decrease of 81), 19 were learning Greek (an increase of 7), 159 were learning French (a decrease of 32), and 101 were learning Geometry (a decrease of 14). (1)

It was the duty (and the privilege) of the Presbyteries to see that the schools in their bounds were properly conducted and efficiently taught - a duty they shared later with Her Majesty's Inspectors. It has been said that the Presbyterial Inspection, which took place once a year, was genial and sometimes perfunctory. (2) Perfunctory it may have been, in Fife as elsewhere; genial, in many cases, it certainly was not. "In a deplorable state of inefficiency" (3); "more of the modern intellectual system should be introduced; this unlikely with the present incumbent" (4); "by no means satisfactory" (5); "they observed a system of prompting on the part of the teacher ... which should be discontinued" (6); "not so numerously attended as should be, because of deficiency of energy and system in the teacher" (7); "mode of conducting classes defective, reading inarticulate, spelling inaccurate ... no attempt to convey instruction from what was taught" (8); these were some of the reports which the examiners submitted. But they were eager to give praise where praise was due. "Accurately, intellectually and efficiently

1. Report of the Education Committee of the General Assembly, 1861 & 1867.
2. J. Kerr - "Scottish Education" (C.U.P. 1916) p.201.
3. General Assembly Report (Kirkcaldy - 1840).
4. Ibid - St. Andrews 1840.
5. Ibid - Cupar 1841.
6. Ibid - St. Andrews 1842.
7. Ibid - St. Andrews 1852.
8. Ibid - St. Andrews 1855.

taught" they said of Leuchars school; "very distinguished in every department" of Kilconquhar; and even "I do think there was a little improvement here this year", of Cameron. (1)

Mr. Middleton, H.M.I., who examined the parochial and burgh schools in 1853, was on the whole very well pleased with the instruction, if not always with the buildings, he saw. In Dunbog Parish School, for example, discipline was "good"; instruction was "various and extensive, but not vivacious ... The Master (had) a taste for mechanical operation and architectural drawing, and (had) made, with the assistance of his pupils, some good instruments and excellent diagrams illustrative of most subjects of school instruction ... the Pupil Teacher (read) Latin, Greek, French and German pretty fairly". There were "good specimens of drawing from model and copy and two fair attempts at landscape". In Ceres, where he found three Pupil Teachers employed, discipline was "very good", and instruction was "highly intelligent and vigorous". The general state of the school was "most satisfactory". But there was "a want of natural intonation in English reading which the master (had) been endeavouring to correct" and finding "a serious obstacle in the native provincialism of his pupils". (2)

As we have seen, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries parochial and burgh schoolmasters had been forced out of their schools for non-conformity. The Kirk kept its grip on the schools until 1861; so it was not to be expected that the Disruption of 1843 would fail to lead to a repetition of the sorry tale. Yet, though the Free Church was very strong in Fife, few schoolmasters lost their posts - we know of only four, one from each Presby-

1. Ibid - St.Andrews 1842.

2. Report of Education Committee of Privy Council - 1853.

tery. (1) But if these men lost their schools there were soon new ones to employ them. A vigorous building programme was put in hand; and where there was no special school building, the new Free Church building in the parish could be, and was, used. (2) By 1852 there were at least 7 Free Kirk Schools in Cupar Presbytery, 4 in Dunfermline Presbytery, 8 (or with Portmoak Free Kirk School 9) in Kirkcaldy Presbytery, and (in 1854) 8 in St. Andrews Presbytery. (3) From the very beginning, it is worth noting, these schools were not set up in bitter competition with the Parochial schools, or with that sectarian rancour which marked the relationship between "British" and "National" schools in England. In Forgan, for example, the parochial school was in the landward part of the parish - over a mile from the new and expanding village of Newport. The new Free Kirk School was built in Newport, and together the two schools catered for the needs of the parish. (4) Again, when it was proposed that the Free Kirk School for Monimail should be erected in Letham, the Free Presbytery of Cupar objected, on the grounds that there were 3 schools there already - a parochial, a Subscription, and a "Female" School; there was, however, only a Female school at the Bow of Fife, and there, the Presbytery recommended,

1. Mr. Alex Bethune of Beath (MS. Beath Her. 22/9/1843); Mr Kilgour of Elie (MS. St. Andrews Pres. 13/5/1844); Mr Tasker of Falkland (MS. Falkland Her. 14/12/1844); and Rev. John Davidson of Kinghorn Burgh School (MS. Kirkcaldy Free Pres. 2/1/1850). There may, of course, have been one or two others.
2. For the position in the country as a whole, see Norman D. Walker "Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland" (Edinburgh 1895) Chap. VIII. One example of the building of a combined school and church was in Forgan. "The original (Free Kirk) church was a plain building, hastily erected ... attached to the main building was a large aisle intended for a schoolroom ... which could be added to the church when necessary ... separated by a removeable wooden partition". J.S. Neish, "History of Newport" (Dundee 1890) p. 92.
3. General Assembly Education Committee's Report, 1852 & 1854. Newport School (in the parish of Forgan) which was certainly in existence from 1843 to 1873, is not mentioned in the Report, and there may be other omissions.
4. J.S. Neish, op.cit. p. 92.

the new school should be built. (1)

The administration of the Free Kirk Schools was similar to that of the parochial schools. Patrons of the schools were not the heritors, but the Deacons' Courts of the various congregations; (2) the elected schoolmasters were "tried in their qualifications" by the Free Kirk Presbyteries; (3) the schools were examined regularly by Committees of the Presbyteries; (4) and schoolmasters were disciplined by the Presbyteries, and if necessary deposed for bad conduct. (5) The subjects that were taught, too, were those of the ordinary parochial schools - in such parishes as Culter and Monimail, (6) however, the "higher branches" were not insisted upon, and (as with the parochial schools)

1. MS. Cupar Free Pres. 14/5/1849. The only reports on the Free Church Schools which I have seen refer to the buildings as either "good" or "very good". The school built in Dairsie was no doubt typical. "A commodious apartment, 20 feet broad by 32 feet long & 10 feet height inside; built in the most substantial manner of stone & lime; finished within in exact agreement with the specifications formerly sent by the Schoolbuilding Committee, i.e. floored with Baltic boards, boarded on the lower half of the walls with wood, and having the upper half lathed and plastered. The School had attached to it a porch, coal cellar etc. and is supplied with tables, seats, and all necessary furniture". MS. Cupar Free Pres. 6/1/1846. A similar building for Kettle & Culter. Ibid 4/8/1846.
2. Ibid 9/7/1850, 4/8/1858; MS. Kirkcaldy Free Pres. 6/2/1850.
3. MS. Cupar Free Pres. 4/12/1849; MS. Dunfermline Free Pres. 3/2/1847 etc.
4. MS. Cupar Free Pres. 4/5/1847; MS. Kirkcaldy Free Pres. 4/5/1859 & 6/5/1868. Some examples of the reports are:- (Aberdour) "... fair appearance ... in reading, writing, arithmetic, and Biblical history, but there was a deficiency in the department of Geography and Grammar". MS. Dunfermline Free Pres. 5/4/1870. (Free Abbey, Dunfermline) "Teacher of the English Department has been very successful. He is a good disciplinarian, and is thoroughly well qualified. The Classical and Mathematical departments still retain their old efficiency. ... minute and accurate and varied knowledge (of) the boys in French, Greek, and Latin". Ibid 6/4/1869.
5. MS. Cupar Free Pres. 5/4/1862 & 7/5/1862. (Schoolmaster forced to resign).
6. Culter - "Found qualified in English, English Grammar, Arithmetic and Geography being the branches required for that situation". (Ibid 3/10/1848) The new schoolmaster of Monimail was not satisfactory in Grammar and Latin, but was passed by the Pres. Ibid, Vol. II, p.26. In 1857 the candidate for Chapel School was examined in English, Geography, Arithmetic, & Religious Knowledge - MS. Kirkcaldy Free Pres. 29/1/1857.

the number taking those higher branches even where they were offered was small. (1)

The Free Kirk Schoolmasters, like their colleagues in the parochial, burgh, and subscription schools, could obtain the Government's Certificate of Merit, and with it an augmentation of salary, and could be entrusted with the training of Pupil Teachers. In 1853 seven of the 15 Certificated teachers in Fife taught in Free Kirk Schools (2), but whether they all received grants we cannot say. (3) The Free Abbey School, in Dunfermline, was training four Pupil Teachers in 1857 and there may have been others - certainly the Free Kirk Schools of Burntisland and Leven (Scoonie) with rolls of 182 and 225 respectively in 1868 could have provided work for them. (4)

It is impossible to give accurate figures of the other non-parochial schools in the county - with the exception of the burgh schools. The General Assembly's Education Committee classed them as Assembly - the schools maintained by the Educational Committee of the General Assembly - Subscription - where the schoolmaster was provided with a salary and often with a school building by the subscription of a number of private citizens (5) - Endowed Schools - the Philp Schools in Kinghorn and district, McLean School, Dunfermline, and

1. In 1857 in Free Abbey School, Dunfermline, with a roll of 160, 50 were learning Geography, there were 3 Latin classes, 1 Greek class, 1 French class, and 2 classes in Plane Geometry and Algebra. (MS. Dunfermline Free Pres. 6/10/1857) Free Abbey was the most highly regarded of the Free Kirk Schools in Dunfermline Pres. (Ibid 5/4/1864, 28/3/1867, 5/4/1870) In 1857 there were 120 on the roll of Aberdour Free School, 45 learning Geography, 1 class in Latin, and 1 class in Practical Mathematics; (Ibid 6/10/1857) in 1869 only "the ordinary branches" were taught there. (Ibid 6/4/1869) In Leven School, with an attendance of 115, only 5 boys read Latin. (H.M.I. Wilson's Report - Minutes of Committee on Education of P.C. 1853) 2. Calendar of Certificated Teachers - Minutes of Privy Council etc. 1853. 3. The Minister of Dairsie applied for a grant for his schoolmaster - MS. Cupar Free Pres. 7/12/1847. 4. MS. Kirkcaldy Free Pres. 6/5/1868. 5. The type is that in Markinch. "In the landward part of the parish (of Dysart) youth could not be educated at all, were it not that a schoolhouse has

many others (1) - Denominational Schools - Free Church, United Presbyterian, Episcopal, and others - and Adventure Schools - supported by fees only. Of these the Assembly Schools were numerically the least important: one was in existence in Kilconquhar by 1839; a second was established in Pittenweem in 1845, and from 1847 to 1853 there were four, with an attendance of some 200 children. This was the peak; and by 1857 there was only one (in St. Monance), with a roll of 124 of whom 50 attended for less than 176 days. (2) These were very much elementary schools: of the 198 who attended in 1848, 124 learned writing, only 79 learned Arithmetic, 78 Geography, and 8 Latin; while in 1861 the single Assembly School in existence was a "Female School" with only 42 learning writing, 18 learning Arithmetic, 12 learning Geography, and none learning any of the "higher branches".

The Adventure Schools, then as in the century before, were of all sorts. There were some like the school in Kirkcaldy, "attended by 12 children (where) English reading only (was) taught by a feeble old man" (3) or like the school in Kingsbarns where the teaching was "very ordinary" - "the teacher (was) attentive and assiduous, but not well qualified". (4) Others stood higher, though only "the ordinary branches" were taught there. Such was the still remembered "Peter's Schule" taught by Mr. Peter Purves, in Linktown, Kirkcaldy, (5) of which the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy wrote that it

(footnote continued from previous page)

been built by Subscription in a corner of the parish of Markinch, supported partly by school fees, and partly by salary paid by the Earl of Rosslyn and Mr Balfour of Balgonie". N.S.A. Dysart. See also N.S.A. Ceres, Auchtermuchty, Kilrenny, Kirkcaldy, Monimail, Strathmiglo.

1. N.S.A. Abbotshall, Dunfermline, Newburn, Collessie, Culross. Note also "Endowment in some small salary; in most free schoolrooms and sometimes free dwelling house" - Gen. Assembly Education Committee - Dunfermline Pres. 1840.
2. Gen. Assembly Education Committee Reports 1839 to 1867. 3. Education Enquiry, Scotland (1837) Abstract - Kirkcaldy. 4. Gen. Assembly Ed. Committee Returns 1840. 5. Parish of Abbotshall.

was "a means of imparting a useful education to a great number of children", (1) and which a Kirkcaldy poet described:-

"Ae storie, ruifed wi' reddish tile,
Some shuttered windows an' a door.
The inside juist as plain in style -
The Maister's desk an' three legg'd stule,
A prest, a kist, a big blackboard,
A clock, some shelves whaur slates were stored," (2)

- a description which no doubt would fit many of the Adventure Schools. (3) Some were taught the "higher branches" - such as the three schools in Scoonie which, according to the New Statistical Account, gave instruction in Greek, Latin, French and Maths. (4)

Many, but not all, of the adventure schools were examined by the Presbyteries, and very often were praised. "In general well spoken of, some high commendation", reported the Kirkcaldy Presbytery in 1841, of the non-parochial schools in its bounds: (5) but Largo adventure school was only "fair" in 1862; (6) and certainly before 1845 it seems that in general they were not so good as the parochial schools. "Still inferior to the parochial - but progressive improvement" said the Presbytery of St. Andrews about their Adventure schools in 1841. (7) "In several little is known or practised of the Intellectual System" (8) was the 1842 verdict on the Adventure schools in Cupar Presbytery. (9)

It seems probable that with the increase in the number of Endowed, Subscription, and Free Kirk Schools, and with the increase in the

1. Gen. Assembly Ed. Committee Returns 1861. 2. James Elder - "Memories of Peter's Lectures", Kirkcaldy 1907, p.1 3. "Accommodation in general very good" reported the Presbytery of Dunfermline of the Non-Parochial schools in their bounds in 1864. MS. Gen. Assembly Education Committee 1864.
4. N.S.A. Scoonie. 5. MS. Gen. Assembly Education Committee - 1841.
6. Ibid - St. Andrews Pres. Report 1862. 7; Ibid 1841. 8. See below for explanation of this term. 9. Gen. Assembly Education Committee 1842.

accommodation provided in the parochial schools, the importance of the "pure" adventure school diminished during the century. In 1837, for example, there were six Adventure schools in Markinch; (1) but in 1866 there was none (with the possible exception of Miss Simpson's Infant School), while there were five subscription schools, a Female Industrial school, a Free Kirk school, and a Colliery school. (2) None the less as late as 1852 the Presbyteries of Fife examined 90 adventure schools, and in 1861 they examined 42. (3)

The number of children reached by the non-parochial schools was very considerable. In 1841, for example, the heritors of Markinch, anxious lest the contemplated increase in the accommodation of their school should involve them in unnecessary expense, carried out a census of the schools within $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the parochial school. They found four - Subscription, Endowed, and Adventure - with an attendance of 297 children between the ages of four and twelve. And Markinch had an exceptionally prosperous and well attended parochial school. (4) In the four Presbyteries (which included Kinross) in the same year the Church examined 152 non-parochial schools (8 of them reckoned as wholly or partly burgh schools), and reported that they were attended by 10,321 children (5), of whom not more than 1,500 would be at the burgh schools. In the same year there were 4,881 children at the 54 parochial schools in the same area. In 1861 the total roll of the 149 non-parochial schools examined was 13,318, compared with the 5,556 who were at the 54 parochial schools. (6)

1. N.S.A. Markinch. 2. Westwoods Directory, Markinch. 3. Gen. Assembly Ed. Committee, 1852 and 1861. The figures per Presbytery were:-
 1852 Cupar 27, Dunfermline 16, Kirkcaldy 36, St. Andrews 11.
 1861 " 6, " " 9, " 15, " 12.
 4. MS. Markinch Her. 29/7/1841. There were 191 on the roll of the Parochial School - "So good, is overcrowded" - N.S.A. Markinch. 5. Gen. Assembly Report 1841. The Burgh Schools counted were probably those of Dunfermline (attendance 100), Burntisland (138), Dysart (80), Kinghorn (109), Kirkcaldy (70), St. Andrews (798), Crail (90), Anstruther E. (70). Figures for attendance from N.S.A. & Educational Enquiry, 1837. 6. Gen. Assembly Report, 1861. In 1857 the Pres. of Cupar reported that there were in the bounds 19 parochial & 44 non-parochial schools, & 33 of the latter were examined. Attendances were:- Parochial 2527, non-parochial about 3000

Probably not included in the Presbyteries' statistics were cer-

tain other types of non-parochial school not discussed so far - Female Schools, Sewing Schools, Infant Schools, and Public Works Schools. "Female Schools"

which were schools taught by females, were attended only by girls (1) and (sometimes) by small boys, and gave instruction in the "elementary branches" only.

Such were the schools in Collessie - "a neat and well adapted building in cottage style ... erected by the Melville family ... attendance 50 girls and a few boys under six", and the school in Ferry-Port-on-Craig, "chiefly attended by girls". (2)

In 1835 or thereabouts there were 27 parishes with one or more of these schools. (3) Very similar - indeed it is difficult to know sometimes in which category to place the school - were the Sewing Schools. The Female Schools of

Kilmany were "very useful to very young children ... and still more so for giving girls ... knowledge of needlework, knitting and other branches of female education". (4)

The Sewing Schools, however, existed primarily to give instruction in "the Industrial Branches" to girls, so "making them useful in their humble stations"; (5) and as the century went on more and more of them were set up as

branches of, or in association with, the parochial or even the burgh school.

Indeed, as early as 1719 the Town Council of Burntisland, in seeking out a schoolmaster for the Burgh School, wanted "if it be possible ... a married man with his

wife qualified for teaching girls wheat frame". (6) And in the nineteenth century the heritors did sometimes appoint the wife of the parochial schoolmaster as

1. The parochial schools were, of course, "promiscuous schools" - considerably more boys than girls, however, attended them.
2. N.S.A. Collessie & Ferry-Port-on-Craig. Occasionally, however, the term was used of "higher" schools taught by women; the female school in Inverkeithing taught "the higher and ornamental branches", as did the female school in Scoonie.
3. N.S.A. passim. Cupar parish had 4, Dunfermline Parish had 5, Kirkcaldy Parish had 4, Newburgh had 3.
4. N.S.A. Kilmany.
5. Abstract - Educational Enquiry 1837 - Kilmany.
6. MS. Burntisland B.R. 31/8/1719. Wheat = white; white seam is the more usual term.

teacher of the Sewing School. (1) But whether the schoolmaster's wife was appointed or not, in the last decade of the period most parishes had their Sewing School. "Female Industrial subjects are taught in all parishes" reported Cupar Presbytery in 1861; and about the same time there were 5 "Parochial Sewing Schools" in Dunfermline Presbytery, 10 Sewing Schools in St. Andrews, (2) and 16 (none of them apparently connected with the parochial schools in Kirkcaldy. (3)

We do not hear of Infant schools in Fife before 1800; but by 1835 at least eight were in existence, and in 1866 there were at least eleven. (4) One reason for their appearance was given by the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy: speaking of the Infant School in Kinghorn, they said that one was necessary in that parish, "as most mothers (were) mill workers". (5) No doubt many of these schools (which were attended by children from 2 to 6 years old) did little more than teach the infants their letters; but in some the instruction was more ambitious. In Auchtertool they were taught "reading, English writing, arithmetic and needlework"; in Kirkcaldy, for 1d a week, they were given instruction in "the usual branches and zoology, geology and repetition of hymns." (6)

Finally, there were the "Public Works Schools" attached to mills or collieries and provided by the proprietors for the education of the children of their employees - and sometimes the employees themselves. In some cases

1. "His wife well qualified & agrees to open a School for the Teaching of needlework etc" MS. Cameron Her. 15/10/1823. "Schoolmaster's wife granted £5 for teaching needlework" - MS. Kemback Her. 18/6/1866. Mrs. Jamie, Forgan; Mrs. Maugham, Kingsbarns; and Mrs. Somers, Collessie, were all wives of the parochial schoolmasters in the places mentioned. (Westwoods Directory) 2. Gen. Assembly Reports 1861, 1863, 1864. 3. Westwoods Directory. I have counted as Sewing Schools those described as "Female Industrial" Schools. 4. N.S.A. & Westwoods Directory. The figures were worked out from the numbers given under each parish. 5. Gen. Assembly Education Reports 1864. 6. N.S.A. Auchtertool, & Educational Enquiry 1837 - Kirkcaldy; and Annals, p.627, for the Infant School in Dunfermline opened in 1829.

these schools provided free education. Neilson and Co., of Kirkland, Wemyss, owners of a linen mill employing 681 people, desired that "the work people's children should be properly educated"; and said the New Statistical Account "they are really and truly so, in all the common branches, and particular attention is also paid to Christianity, by a well qualified and efficient teacher", to whom the Company gave £30 and school fees. (1) But in other Works Schools the workpeople had to pay. The proprietors of the Forth Iron Works provided "a handsome school ... with a headmaster and three assistants, one of whom (was) a female teacher of the girls" which was attended by nearly 400 children. It was supported by a levy of "a few pence per month" on the wages of all the workmen. (2) This method of charging had a salutary effect, according to the historian of Dunfermline: (3) he described "the facility of finding easy employment with a little pecuniary gain for young boys and girls underground" as "a benefit which careless or dissipated parents took advantage of to the prejudice of the education of their offspring. But recently" he said in 1843 "at all the collieries, the payments for education are made universal and compulsory ... an arrangement which has caused a much more regular attendance". (4)

A complete and accurate account of these schools cannot be given; but in 1866 there were at least 15 of them in the county; (5) and some of them were inspected by the Presbyteries, and highly commended. Little

1. N.S.A. Wemyss. 2. Gen. Assembly Education Committee 1849. The Presbytery of Dunfermline described the provision of this school as an "instance of the liberality generally shown in the mining districts." 3. Dr. Chalmers, the writer of the N.S.A. article on Dunfermline. 4. N.S.A. Dunfermline. 5. At Aberdour, Auchterderran, Auchtertool, Ballingry, Beath (2), Dysart, Kemback, Kinglassie, Leslie, Markinch, Wemyss (4). (Westwoods Directory)

Raith Colliery School was "much praised"; (1) Lochgelly Public Work School was "excellent". (2)

There remain to be considered those burgh schools which Fife inherited from the eighteenth century - Anstruther Easter, Burntisland, Crail, Cupar, Dunfermline, Dysart, Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, and St. Andrews. (3)

Anstruther Easter was little more than a parish school - indeed it would have been better for the schoolmaster if it had been; for then his salary would have been at least £22.16s in 1834, and not the miserable £5.6s.8d which he received from the town. (4) Kinghorn, in fact, was a "burgh and parochial school" from 1830 to 1844, the schoolmaster being paid one half by the heritors and one half by the Town Council, and elected by the Heritors. (5) Thereafter the school became a burgh school. Something similar happened in Crail: after the death of the old master of the Grammar School, Mr. McMin, in 1818, the Town Council refused to elect a successor; the townspeople petitioned the Presbytery, and claimed that the heritors, who had never contributed to the upkeep of a school were bound to do so. (6) A scheme was agreed upon between Town Council and Heritors, whereby the heritors were to provide the maximum salary and bear two-thirds of the expenses for a dwelling house and garden, and the Town Council were to pay the other third of the cost of house and garden, and pay the schoolmaster an additional £12 of salary. (7) This scheme was

1. Gen. Assembly Education Committee 1866.
2. Ibid 1863, 1864. Leslie P.W. School, on the other hand, was dismissed without comment. Ibid 1863.
3. In Inverkeithing the Town Council appointed an assistant master to the school in 1799; in 1802 the schoolmaster was elected by the heritors. Thereafter the school was an ordinary parochial school. Stephen, History, p.398, & N.S.A.
4. N.S.A. Anstruther Easter.
5. MS. Kinghorn Her. 22/6/1842 & 31/5/1844. That there were advantages in being recognised as a parochial teacher is seen from Mr. A. Beatten's attempt, in which he was opposed by the heritors, to obtain this recognition. Ibid 6/8/1829.
6. MS. St. Andrews Pres. 4/8/1819.
7. Ibid 1/9/1819.

finally implemented after the opposition of the principal heritor was overcome by the threat (which may have been carried out) of the Presbytery to apply to the Commissioners of Supply. (1)

The divided nature of the schools of Crail and Kinghorn did not in any way restrict their curricula. In Crail "English reading, grammar, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, mathematics, navigation, geography, Latin and French" were taught; and Mr. Webster (Rector 1822-1856) "occasionally taught Chemistry, astronomy, mineralogy, Italian, Greek, and very commonly church music." (2) In Kinghorn - where the joint school was "an object which attracts attention because of its equipment and accommodation", being supplied with "a handsome building, ... an enclosure tastefully laid out with shrubs and plants ... a bowling green, (and) a playground with gymnastic poles" - the course of instruction was almost as extensive. "The usual branches of English and grammar, writing and arithmetic, bookkeeping, mathematics pure and practical, French, Latin, and Greek". Moreover, the children were "taught the uses of the various specimens which the museum (presented) to their youthful inquiry, and thus they received an initiatory knowledge of geology, mineralogy etc." (3) For this, heritors and Town Council paid the sole teacher a salary of £25; but, happily, his fees brought him a further £98 a year. (4)

1. Ibid 4/2/1820, 14/9/1820, 20/12/1820, 28/3/1821. The Presbytery held, after examining the original charter of Crail Grammar School, that it was "strictly a Grammar school for teaching Latin only, endowed by a private individual, and that the Parish (was) entitled ... to a Parochial school." Ibid 20/12/1820. From 1822 there was another school in the burgh in the Nethergate which was partly supported by the Town Council, and generally referred to as the Burgh School. MS. Crail K.S. 21/3/1856, & Westwoods Directory. 2. Abstract - Educational Enquiry (Scotland) 1834. 3. N.S.A. Kinghorn. The Museum was "well furnished with good specimens of mineralogy, geology, zoology, conchology, and anatomy". 4. Abstract - Educational Enquiry (Scotland) 1834.

Burntisland Town Council succeeded in maintaining their Burgh School; but although in the nineteenth century more pupils than ever before attended it - some 138 in 1833, and 173 in 1866 (1) - it did not keep pace with the growth of the town, and was, by 1866 "simply an ordinary parochial school, under Government inspection... The upper and middle classes had nearly deserted it, for a private adventure school in the neighbourhood". The majority of the children left it at the age of 12 or 13, only three boys were learning Latin, and it was almost unknown for any boy to go from the school to a University. (2) This relative decay was due almost entirely to the site of the school, which had been rebuilt ("an unsightly erection") in 1805 (3) in a part of the town which slipped down the social ladder, became inhabited by "a very poor class of people", and attracted to itself a gas works.

This school too paid poor salaries. The doctor, assistant, or second master was paid £20 a year in 1808, (4) and £10, with "bed, board, and washing" in 1837. (5) By the end of the period the burgh had ceased to employ assistant masters; Pupil Teachers (of whom there were three in 1866) were cheaper. How much the burgh paid its schoolmaster from 1803 to 1830 is not known; his salary was £37 in 1834, £26 (with in addition Watson's Mortification, 10 bolls of barley and £3.10s cash) in 1837, and £30 (with £10 from Watson's Mortification) in 1866. (6) Fees, too, must have brought in very little - in 1837 they were worth only £23 to £24 a year. (7)

1. Burgh Schools Report. This figure represents a remarkable recovery - there were only some 25 to 30 pupils in attendance in 1854. Gen. Assembly Report 1854.
2. Note, in spite of the use of "boy", that this was a "mixed" school. The Commissioners pointed out that there were, however, no girls of the middle and upper classes at this school. 3. MS. Burntisland H.R. 26/10/1805. The new building was 40 feet long, 32 feet wide. (Ibid 21/3/1803) The "first" master had the whole flat above the schoolrooms, the second master the "attic storey".
4. Ibid 20/1/1808. 5. Abstract - Educational Enquiry, Burntisland 1837.
6. N.S.A., Abstract, Educational Enquiry, & Burgh Schools Report. 7; Abstract, Educational Enquiry. The schoolmaster had to teach up to "£10 worth" of poor scholars (at 1s.6d the quarter) gratis.

Dysart school afforded its schoolmaster a better living than this. Between 1813 and 1834 the salary was £43 a year, (1) the fees brought in from £50 to £60 in 1834, and presumably considerably more 20 years later. (2) After 1853 (if not before) the master would receive payment for the three Pupil Teachers whom he was training. (3) Moreover, the "higher subjects" continued to be taught there, at least until 1853, when, according to H.M. Inspector of Schools, the attainments of the pupils was above average, the highest class was acquainted with the elements of physical geography, an unusually large proportion of the pupils studied grammar and history, (4) and the pupil teachers read Latin and French pretty fluently, one had begun Greek, and one German. And the burgh provided its schoolmaster with an "excellent building" (built in 1824) (5), the desks (which were moveable) were good, the furniture was good, and there was a good supply of books. (6)

1. N.S.A. and Educational Enquiry. In MS. Dysart B.R. 29/11/1839 Mr. James McDonald was elected "at the same salary as his predecessor"; and he had been elected at the same salary as his predecessor, who was appointed in 1813. No alteration of salary between 1813 and 1846 was minuted. The Burgh Records for 1846 to 1876 have disappeared. 2. Educational Enquiry. There were 70 pupils in 1834, 138 in 1842 (Gen. Assembly Report 1842), 120 in 1853. (H.M.I. Report - Education Committee of P.C. 1854). 3. Education Committee of P.C. 1854. 4. Mention of history as a subject in schools is extremely rare. 5. MS. Dysart B.R. 13/9/1824. 6. Education Committee of P.C. etc. Dysart. In spite of the reference to the "unusually large number" studying grammar and history, we must not think that a high proportion learned the "higher subjects". In 1842, of a roll of 138, only 81 were learning Writing, 40 Geography, 11 Latin, 17 French, and 4 Maths. Three of the schoolmasters were interesting men. Mr. James McLaren (1813-1825) was deposed by the Presbytery, but was so popular with the townspeople that they petitioned the Town Council to keep him; he became schoolmaster of Kilconquhar, and had a very good reputation there. (N.S.A. Kilconquhar) The Rev. William Muir (1825-1839) an expectant, who came from "Heriots Hospital", published two good little books on the antiquities of Dysart. He became minister of the Temple. A third (McDonald) was also popular - when the Town Council discussed reducing his salary, the citizens petitioned that this should not be done, and won their point.

Dunfermline Burgh School, too, continued under the control of the Town Council (indeed, came more fully under the Council's control; for in 1810 the Marquis of Tweeddale handed over to the Town Council the right to present the Rector of the Grammar School). (1) It too, was housed in new premises, opened in 1817, (2) and no doubt was expected to share in the general educational advance of the town at that period. (3) But after 1835 the school was at the disadvantage of being run by an almost bankrupt Town Council. The Master's salary was cut; (4) the Town no longer appointed and paid for a doctor for the school; (5) and there was no money to improve the accommodation that by 1866 had become inadequate. (6) Moreover, the Rector, Mr. Archibald Haxton, became involved in disputes in the Queen Anne Street Church, and his popularity declined. (7) The school which once had been resorted to by all classes became a purely middle class school - the upper classes deserted it for a more exclusive academy, and the poorer citizens sent their children (when they sent them to any school) to schools with lower fees. (8)

1. MS. Dunfermline B.R. 14/4/1810. 2. "Sixty eight feet long, 28 feet broad, 28 feet high ... at back ... an uncovered circular tower, about 70 feet in height, which serves both for a stair case to the master's residence, and for a look out observatory ... schoolrooms on each side of main door in middle of building". Annals, 1817. 3. By 1816 there was a Lancasterian school, held in the old Camernian Kirk (Annals, p.509) - it was taken over by the Magistrates. A Lancasterian school was one conducted according to the principles of Mr. Lancaster, of which the most important was the employment of monitors, whereby, it was claimed, one master could educate 1000 pupils. This was the Madras System too. - "the Steam engine of the Moral World". (J.L. & B.Hammond, "The Bleak Age" (Pelican, 1947) 1.149 ff.) In 1816 a school was erected by the Fraternity of the Guildry (Chalmers, history ii, p.440); the "Dunfermline Drawing Academy" (to teach young men to make designs for damask manufacture") (Annals, p.622); an Infant School was opened in 1829 (Annals, p.627). In 1809 a Tradesmen's Library had been formed, which grew from 40 volumes in 1809 to 300 in 1819. 4. Chalmers, Dunfermline, p.439. 5. Ibid, p.440. 6. Burgh Schools Report p.98. 7. Chalmers, History, p.437. 8. Burgh Schools Report, p.98.

As a middle class school, however, the Burgh School continued to teach the higher subjects, if without any marked efficiency. (1) Few or none of the pupils (of whom there were 67 in 1859 and 74 in 1866, one quarter of them girls) went on to the University. From these pupils the schoolmaster derived about £154 a year of fees, to supplement his miserable £8.6s.8d of salary. (2)

Much more cheerful was the story of Kirkcaldy Burgh School. It will be remembered that in 1790 the Grammar School was divided into two separate establishments, with a Rector or Schoolmaster in one, to teach Arithmetic and the "other higher branches", and a "Second Teacher" in the other, restricted to the teaching of English, Writing, and Church Music. (3) That arrangement was continued until 1840. The principal school, however, was not consistently successful: by 1812 the rector was an old man, and there was such dissatisfaction in the town that a subscription school was opened, with the young Edward Irving in charge. "Without any accessories to command respect, in a humble locality with ... common houses crowding around, the new institution impressed respect upon the town, and soon became important". (4) As a result,

1. "The rector teaches the ordinary subjects, and Latin, Greek and French ... Third and fourth Latin classes reading Curtius and 1st part of Arnold's Latin Prose Composition $\frac{3}{4}$ of hour per day ... Proficiency not great". Ibid.
2. Ibid, & Chalmers, History, p.437. The salary was by then only the income from Queen Anne's Mortification (£8.6s.8d). Note, however, that in 1867, according to MM. Demogeot & Mantucci ("De l'Enseignement Secondaire en Angleterre et en Ecosse", Paris 1868) the Rector had an income of £280, and taught about 100 pupils. A word must be said here of the Sang School. David Christie, who had been appointed in 1776, died Sept. 1817. He was succeeded by Mr. James Rankine, who opened a school in 1820 for teaching English, Writing, Arithmetic, and Music - but it was unsuccessful. His successors, Messrs. Martin and Locke, did not, apparently, teach the ordinary branches: they confined themselves to teaching music, and acting as Precentors and keepers of the Registers. Chalmers, History, ii, p.448. 3. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 23/8/1790. 4. Burgh Schools Report, Kirkcaldy. The passage goes on "boys and girls, as usual, sat together at these brown oaken desks without the least separation, and pursued their studies with mutual rivalry".

the Grammar School "fell off very considerably", (1) and the appointment of Thomas Carlyle in 1816 (with emoluments guaranteed to reach £80) for one year's trial (2) does not seem to have improved its fortunes greatly. Under the next schoolmaster, the number on the roll fell to 22; at the English school there were 70. (3) But with Mr. John Lockhart's appointment as Master of the recombined Grammar School in 1840 (at a salary of £50) there was an upward turn. (4) Lockhart, a graduate of Glasgow University, was to teach, when required, English, Greek, Latin, French, Arithmetic, Geography, Astronomy, Mathematics, Algebra, Navigation, Trigonometry, and Writing "with any other branches usually taught of which his assistants may be capable". And to give him a good start, the Council built a new school with five classrooms and accommodation for 422 pupils. (5)

Of all the burgh schools we have considered so far, this one as reorganised under Mr. Lockhart comes closest to present practice. With its much larger numbers - it was not, however, overcrowded: the roll in 1866 was 251 - its multiplication of class rooms, its assistants trained in Moray House, (6) it has a modern air. But the school still retained many features from the past. The individual pupil did not follow one of a fairly small number of courses - he chose subjects from amongst those offered. In fact only 30 children were taking six subjects in 1866. Nor did every child pay the same fee - he paid (in advance) according to the number of subjects he was being taught. (7)

1. MS. Kirkcaldy B.R. 29/12/1816. 2. Ibid 16/9/1816 & 18/9/1816. Carlyle was given 3 guineas for his travelling expenses. 3. Educational Enquiry, 1837. 4. Burgh Schools Report, & McBean, p.289. 5. Burgh Schools Report. According to H.M.I. Middleton, in 1853, the buildings were excellent; the desks, parallel and wall, in excellent condition. Education Committee of P.C. 1854. 6. In addition to Pupil Teachers - 7 of them in 1853. Middleton, op.cit. 7. With a reduction for quantity. Reading alone cost 3s per quarter; the 3 Rs 5s.6d; these and geography and grammar 6s.6d. The fees (in 1841 at any rate) included "pens and no charge to be made for coals or janitor."

The finances of this successful Burgh School are interesting.

In 1865 the burgh paid £50 salary to the Rector, and £50 to him to meet the salaries of his assistants. The fees amounted to £250, giving him a gross income of £350. From this, he paid £60 to his senior assistant, £25 to his junior assistant, £30 to the monitors, £10 for coals, £4 for gas, £10 for pens, ink and slates, (1) £1 for maps, and £5 for prizes, leaving him a net income of £205. (2)

If Kirkcaldy Grammar School developed remarkably between 1800 and 1850, the Burgh Schools of St. Andrews and Cupar were transformed. Until 1831 the two Town Schools of St. Andrews - the Grammar School, in which was taught only Latin and Greek, and the English School, for the ordinary branches - were ordinary and not particularly successful burgh schools serving a medium sized burgh. In 1805, indeed, there were fewer than 25 pupils at the Grammar School, and the Town Council did not appoint a doctor in place of one who had resigned; (3) and although for a short period numbers rose sufficiently to justify the employment of a doctor, the school soon reverted to being a one teacher school. (4) It is most probable (no figures however are available) that the English School was more numerously attended: in 1824 it was "so large that there should be two masters in it". (5) The Town Council paid good salaries (by Fife standards): £40 in 1802, rising to £49 in 1805, and to £50 in 1815, to the Grammar Master; and £25 from 1814 to 1838 to the English Master. (6)

1. Writing slates. The use of these is, of course, very old, but the earliest references to them I have met in Fife are from the nineteenth century - e.g. Colinsburgh in 1833, when it was stated that the classroom was so damp that writing left on the slates overnight had disappeared next morning. R. Dick, "Annals of Colinsburgh" (Edinburgh 1896) p.33. 2. Burgh Schools Report. "The scantiness of the headmaster's income (was) a subject of much regret in the burgh". In 1865 & 1866 the assistants were paid more than is shown above. The liberality of Provost Swan afforded £75 for the first, and £60 for the second, assistant. 3. MS. St. Andrews B.R. 15/1/1805. 4. Ibid (Discharges) 1/8/1812 to 21/2/1815 passim. 5. Ibid 12/7/1824. 6. Ibid 5/3/1802, 15/1/1805, 26/7/1817 to 1835 passim.

In 1831 the position of these schools was entirely altered.

Dr. Bell, inventor of the Bell monitorial system, (1) left £50,000 to the city for the erection and endowment of a new school, to be known as Madras College, in which were to be merged the Grammar and English Schools of the Burgh. The Town Council accepted the bequest, "divested themselves of the patronage of the Grammar School ... and reserved to themselves nothing but the right of paying £50 a year to the Classical Master, and £25 a year to the English Master". (2) Control of the school was vested in four Trustees - the Provost of St. Andrews, the two ministers of the parish, and the Sheriff Depute of Fife - who were to examine the school every quarter. The Classical and English Masters were to be paid salaries of at least £100 and £75 respectively - a minimum of £50 going to each from the Bell Fund provided that the results at the quarterly examination were satisfactory.

Although Madras College was a fee paying school, like every burgh and parochial school in the country, a large number of children (about 150 in 1838) (3) were educated free. And since it was intended that "only such fees as parents could pay without much inconvenience" were to be charged, there were two rates of fees for the ordinary branches, one double the other (the three Rs and English Grammar could be had either gratis or for as little as 1s.6d a quarter). This applied, however, only to that section of the school which was the descendant of the old "English School" of the Burgh. For, as Demogeot and Mantucci (4) noted, the College consisted of two distinct parts -

1. In the Bell or Madras System the master instructed certain of the brighter pupils (the monitors) who then instructed their fellows. This was the system which it was claimed was borrowed by Lancaster from Bell. In the Bell system proper the monitor was generally a part of the class he taught, or rather to whom he repeated what he had been told by the master. (Demogeot and Mantucci, op.cit. p.463) 2. Burgh Schools Report, p.63. 3. N.S.A. 4. op.cit. p.538.

an Elementary (1) section (public classes), and a Secondary section (private classes); and here was to be met that division of education into two parts, one for one social class, and one for the other, which the French visitors had observed frequently in England but very infrequently in Scotland. In the Secondary Department, in which instruction was given not only in the higher branches but also in Writing, Arithmetic, English and Geography, the fees were between 7s.6d and 10s.6d a quarter.

Madras College was opened in 1833 with two masters; within five years it was employing 8 masters (or heads of department) and two assistants, (2) to teach 798 pupils. There were departments of English (teaching Reading, English Grammar, Composition, Literature, and History), Writing, Arithmetic, Mathematics, Drawing, Classics, Modern Languages (French, German, and Italian), and Church Music. (3) By 1866 the numbers had increased to 863, and book-keeping and natural philosophy had been added to the curriculum. At that date the principal teachers were receiving (by salary and fees) incomes ranging from £480 (Modern Languages) to £194 (Writing). (4)

Very similar was the evolution of the ancient burgh schools of Cupar. Until 1822 the two schools, Latin and English, which had been formed in 1788 (5) continued under the control of the Town Council. In 1807 a new building was provided, after long delay, for the Latin School; (6) the salaries, which the Burgh paid out of its Common Good, were increased after 1800 - to £40

1. Not Primary, which refers to the age of the pupil. Elementary refers to his social class. 2. Burgh Schools Report & N.S.A. 3. N.S.A. 4. Burgh Schools Report, p.67. The head of the English Department had £343.8s per annum; his first assistant £150; the head of the Arithmetic Department £352; of the Drawing Department £317.7s, and the head of the Classics Department £330. 5. See above, p.284. The Burgh School Report (p.85) is inaccurate on this point. 6. MS. Cupar B.R. 5/3/1806 & 14/4/1807.

a year for the Latin Master and to £27 for the English Master. (1) Assistants were employed in both schools; and the number of pupils in attendance rose to more than 200 in 1815. (2) Moreover, the Town Council supported a number of other schools in the burgh, including a Sewing School, and in return had the right to nominate a number of "poor scholars" for free schooling. (3) But after 1815 the schools, like the burgh, were in serious difficulties. The English school in particular was hard hit: not only did the prevailing economic distress saddle the English schoolmaster with many bad debts; (4) failure to meet the demand for the teaching of English "according to the modern and refined tastes of the times" had contributed to its decline. (5) But worse, by 1822 the Town Council (like so many other Town Councils of the period) had exhausted or seriously reduced the Burgh's Common Good, and it could no longer pay the salaries of its schoolmasters. To perform the task the Town Council was no longer capable of, a number of the townspeople "entered into a subscription to have an Academy erected according to the approved model of modern times". (6) After the English master (who had an "ad vitam" appointment) had

1. Ibid 24/9/1802 & 1/8/1803. The actual salary to be paid to Mr. Wiseman, the English Master, after 1803 is nowhere given. In 1803 he was granted an increase of £5 p.a. By adding the successive increases voted to him after 1788 to his salary then, one arrives at the figure of £27. 2. Ibid 20/9/1809 & 26/4/1815. 3. Ibid 8/3/1803 & 6/4/1803. (Miss Christian McPherson given 5 guineas to buy a gown); 7/4/1806 - (Sewing Mistress to teach "white seam and writing" at £6 p.a. - at pleasure); 8/1/1812 (no poor scholars to be sent to school without recommendation of Magistrates); 2/11/1815 (James Miln given £2 to pay his school rent); 6/8/1817 - "to intimate to Mr. Kerr and Miss Campbell their allowance from town to cease after the vacation of their schools Aug 1818". In 1811 the Town Council agreed to pay not more than £20 p.a. to the teacher of a Subscription School to make up his income to £100 p.a. Ibid 7/6/1811. 4. Ibid 25/9/1819. In 1817 Mr. James Milne, a private teacher, petitioned the Town Council for assistance: his fees were not paid because "most of (his) employers (could) scarcely get food to preserve life". Ibid 15/8/1817. 5. Ibid 25/9/1819. The English master had tried to restore the school by employing an assistant "well qualified" to meet the demand; but he found himself unable to pay the assistant's salary. 6. N.S.A. Cupar.

simplified the transaction by dying, and the Latin master (whose appointment was at pleasure) had been dismissed, the Burgh Schools were merged in the new Academy and their buildings handed over to the new institution. Until 1834 Cupar Academy, with its three departments - English in all its branches; the languages, with Geography; and Arithmetic in all its branches and writing - and its four teachers, took the place - inadequately, in view of many of the inhabitants, who claimed that the fees excluded the "lower ranks" - of burgh and parochial school. (1)

Meantime Dr. Bell had bequeathed £10,000 to the town "to promote and encourage the education of youth in Cupar, and more especially from a wish to exhibit therein a model and exemplar of the new and momentous system of education" - the Bell Monitorial system. Under the terms of his bequest, which the town accepted, Cupar Academy became the Madras Academy. The Town Council agreed to pay the Classical Master £40, and the English Master £20, a year, and divested itself of any rights of patronage and direction, which were put in the hands of the Bell trustees. (2) The new Academy marked a further departure from the ideal (which is not to say the practice) of a burgh school serving all classes of the community, and bringing rich and poor together on the same school benches. It was "the idea of the founder to have all classes taught, but in separate ... divisions, the scale of fees being adjusted according to the ability to pay; and the branches in each school being regulated to some extent by the probable requirements of children in different grades of life". The school was organised in three divisions. In the South or Kirkgate School, where Religious knowledge, reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, and geography were taught (at

. N.S.A. Cupar; Educational Enquiry 1834; & Burgh Schools Report, p.85.
- Burgh Schools Report, p.85.

fees of 1d to 2d per week) the very poorest classes were to be found. In the "Lower School" of the Academy, in which the three Rs, history, and geography were taught (at fees of 2s to 2s.9d per quarter) were the somewhat better off; and in the upper School, where the "higher subjects" were taught (at fees of 4s.6d to 10s.6d in the English department, and up to 15s for French and German) were to be found the upper and middle classes. (1)

In organisation and methods Cupar Madras Academy stood half-way between the older Burgh School with its two independent divisions and a modern Secondary School. All three divisions - Kirkgate, Lower, and Upper - were under a Rector, who was responsible for the general order and efficiency of the classes, and to whom the four under masters made regular reports. But "his powers of interference (were) not great - each master (was) pretty much head in his own department". Again, the pupils followed no fixed curriculum - they or their parents picked the subjects offered as fancy or income indicated. (2)

In spite of the name of the School, the Madras system was not used. (3) "Methods, the ordinary, in spirited operation", reported Her Majesty's Inspector in 1853. Where necessary, assistants were employed to help the head of the department, and in addition there were Pupil teachers. (4)

Between 1850 and 1870 the attendance at this school was some 550. (5) Not many, however, pursued the "higher branches" very far - in 1865

1. Ibid. The allocation of subjects according to class was not completely rigid - "Classics, mathematics & modern languages are introduced into the upper school, but scholars from the Lower school are privileged to select any of these departments that they please". 2. Burgh Schools Report. 3. Demogeot and Mantucci, op.cit. p.545. 4. Burgh Schools Report, & Demogeot and Mantucci, op.cit. In 1853 there were 7 P.Ts., who were "expert instructors" and were "about the best readers of English" the Inspector had met in any school. (Ed. Committee of the P.C. Report, 1854.) In 1866 two assistants were employed in the English Dept., one in the Foreign Language dept. 5. In 1853 average attendance was 485 (Ed. Committee of P.C. 1854); in 1866 the number on the roll was 521; according to Demogeot and Mantucci, there were 600 on the roll in 1867.

only 10 were learning Mathematics; only 7 were learning German; only 2 learning Greek. "It is quite clear", reported Her Majesty's Inspector, "that classical studies are not much regarded in Cupar". (1)

In Cupar practically all the fees (with the exception of those for Modern Languages and Drawing) were paid into a central fund which, when supplemented by the income from the endowment, provided the salaries of the rector and masters - fixed salaries, that is, independent of the amount of fees. These salaries, £157 for the Rector, £99 for the classical master, and £99 for the mathematical master, in 1865, were markedly inferior to those paid in St. Andrews, and hardly surprisingly were regarded as insufficient by the Commissioners who reported on the Burgh Schools of Scotland in 1866. (2)

With Cupar we have come to the end of this account of the attempts of agencies public and private, official and unofficial, to supply the county with schools and schoolmasters. After 1872 the provision of schooling was put on an entirely new footing, and the story of education in Fife is no different from the story of education in Scotland. Parochial schools, Free Church Schools, and burgh schools were transferred to elected school boards. How necessary the change was, if a really satisfactory universal system of education was to be provided, is shown by one set of figures. When in 1873, 27 of the School Boards of Fife considered what they had inherited from the agencies who had preceded them, they found that in an area with 17,081 children aged between 5 and 13 years, there were 14,764 on the rolls of the schools of their districts (not, note, in attendance) and that there were available 12,892 school places. It was necessary to provide in the next few years, they calculated, —an additional 7,747 places. (3)

—1. Burgh Schools Report, p.89. On an average only 1 boy per year went on to a University from the school. Ibid. 2. Ibid. 3. A.H.Millar - Fife, p.86.

There remains only one aspect of the story on which something must be said. It is true to say that in essentials the methods of instruction employed in 1600 were those employed in 1800. The curriculum was wider, the physical conditions were on the whole probably better, there were certainly more books, and better books (as school books) available. But "rime rote", as far as we can tell, was as common as it had been in James Melville's time. Then with the nineteenth century came a quickening of interest in the technique of teaching; and the system preached by Mr. Wood, of the Edinburgh Normal School, fairly quickly found its way into Fife. This was the famous Intellectual or Explanatory System: the revolutionary device of ensuring that a child understood what he read by restating it in his own words. (1) The reports of the Fife Presbyteries on the parochial and non-parochial schools they examined which have been quoted above show that in the Forties of the century this "modern" method was almost universal. As early as 1841 the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy had written of one schoolmaster that "being an old man, he was totally unacquainted with modern methods" in terms indicating that he was exceptional. (2)

The keen interest that the schoolmasters of Fife took in methods of instruction is revealed most clearly in the Minutes of the two local Associations of the Educational Institute of Scotland that have survived from that period. Local Associations were formed in Cupar (3) and Kirkcaldy in 1847; here are some of the subjects they discussed in the next few years - the best methods of teaching the A.B.C.; Corporal Punishment; the method used in teaching the principles of proportion; methods of teaching English Grammar; methods of

1. John Wood, op.cit. Chap.XI. 2. Gen.Assembly Ed.Committee Report, 1839, Appendix (Portmoak). In 1840 the Presbytery of St.Andrews asked its Education Committees to report "especially" "whether, & to what extent, the Intellectual ... mode of teaching is practised" in the schools examined by them. (MS. St.Andrews Pres. 5/2/1840) 3. 21 burgh, parochial & other teachers were present at the first meeting - 20/11/1847.

teaching English Composition etc. etc. (1) Libraries on Educational subjects were formed by both associations; (2) lists of recommended books "for perusal of Junior Teachers" were drawn up, and so forth. (3) The Kirkcaldy Association, keenly aware of "the injurious effects of that unavoidable isolation to which teachers, from their peculiar position, are more doomed than almost any other class of professional men ... approved of a suggestion that the members in rotation should ... each exhibit to the Association a specimen of anything he considered new or peculiar in his own method of communicating instruction". (4)

For a really close view of the inside of the school, however, we go not to the records of the E.I.S. but to the accounts of MM. Demogeot and Mantucci, who in 1866 came to report on the schools of Scotland on behalf of the Imperial Government of France. Of the schools of Fife they visited the Madras Academies in Cupar and St. Andrews; and since much that was familiar to the Presbytery examiners and Her Majesty's Inspector, was strange to them, their accounts are of exceptional interest. In the Primary classes of Madras School, St. Andrews, for example, they noted that the whole department of some six classes, consisting of about 200 children, were taught in one very large room, each class forming a square round its teacher. At the end of the hour the classes went out one by one on a given command, for a break of ten minutes; while they were out "the large windows were opened to renew the air". In this department monitors were employed, but only for children of eight to ten years old.

1. On 24/4/1858 the Cupar Institute drew up a list of 26 questions on Methods generally, & Methods of teaching English; of 21 questions on methods of teaching Arithmetic; and of 24 questions on the teaching of Classics, for discussion at their meetings. 2. MS. Minutes of Kirkcaldy E.I.S. 29/4/1849 & Minutes of Cupar E.I.S. 2/6/1849. 3. MS. Cupar E.I.S. 4/3/1848. 4. MS. Kirkcaldy E.I.S. 28/4/1849.

In the Secondary Department they inspected classes learning German, English, Latin, and Arithmetic. They noted with interest the arrangement of the pupils in a First Year German class - 8 boys of 12 to 15 years on benches in front, and about 2 yards behind them, five girls seated on benches placed in the form of a square. In the English class there was an "ingenious" method of teaching Written Composition: each pupil had a book of skeleton subjects - e.g. Architecture - The Caves of Savages, The Herdsman's thatched Cottages, The Palace of Semiramis etc. - which he worked into an essay. Each pupil did two of these exercises a week; they were corrected by the teacher at home, and the best exercises were then written out in class.

In the top Latin class, of 12 pupils, the visitors saw the master dictate two or three lines of English to the pupils, who then "in deep silence" wrote a translation on their slates, without use of Dictionary or Grammar. As soon as each pupil had finished his translation he placed his slate in the middle of the room; when all the slates were on the floor the master gave the command "change slates" and each pupil took up another's slate, and after the master had given his translation, marked those errors they thought they could find. The slates were then returned to their owners, disputed points were cleared up, and the whole process, which took a quarter of an hour, was repeated. In the Arithmetic department, in one room the master wrote the "sums" on the blackboard; then the pupils stood in twos, facing one another (to prevent copying), round the blackboard, worked out the problem, and put their slates in a heap on the floor. In another room the visitors saw two arithmetic classes busy. One class was working with the master at the blackboard. Here, after a problem had been put on the blackboard, the class filed past the master at a given signal, holding their slates above their heads, so that he could mark the sums.

In the Madras Academy, Cupar, the visitors saw that the Madras

system (of which they disapproved) was not used, as we have mentioned. There were separate rooms for the different departments - English, Mathematics, Modern Languages etc. - in other words several classes (there were eight English classes) would occupy a room at the same time. But if they saw any unusual methods being employed in the Cupar school, they did not mention them. But the large playgrounds, with their shelters (one for girls, another for the boys) in case of bad weather, and the large playing field, caught their eyes. They learned that prizes were awarded at the end of the school year: the chief being the Balgonie Gold Medal for the pupil who had scored the most marks in all the written examinations of the year, and the second prize, the Town Council Silver Medal, for the pupil who did best in English Literature, Style, Grammar, Geography, and Logic. But they noted too, with evident delight, the song that the pupils of the school sang at the annual prizegiving:

"Hurrah, hurrah, our work is done
And once again we're free
To race and run till set of sun
Across the daisied lea:

To make our books the running brooks,
And as we read them o'er
To add to what we've learn'd at school
A page of nature's lore."

(1)

And with that song we may take our leave of the schoolboys and the schoolmasters not only of Cupar but of the whole of Fife.

ABBOTSHALL - SCHOOLMASTERS

"Two schools - satisfactory"
by 9/6/1709 (Kirkcaldy Pres.)

"No schoolmaster - have not salary for one" 27/11/1712 (Pres.)

"no legal salary" 10/9/1713 (Pres.)

"no legal salary, nor schoolmaster appointed from parish" 20/12/1720 (Pres.)

Salary appointed by Commissioners of Supply - 27/7/1721 (Pres.)

Mr Robert Wilson

- "now deceased" 10/12/1730 (Pres.)

Mr Henry Coupar (from Strathmiglo)

21/1/1731 (Pres.) & on 2/7/1741 (Pres.)

Mr John Richardson (from Linktown of Annot)

by 19/9/1755 (St. Andrews B.R.) & 13/5/1756 (Pres.) - left for Burntisland
1/9/1762

? James Glass (Registrar)

14/1/1764 (P.R.)

? And. Donaldson

- left for Dunfermline 1767 (Dunfermline K.S.)

Mr John Adam

by 9/3/1783 (P.R.) & on 2/12/1801 (Pres.)

Robert Kelly Douglas (from Inverkeithing)

appointed 1819 (Stephen, History, p.399)

John Henderson

30/10/1847 (E.I.S.)

James Turner

1866 (Westwoods Directory)

ABDIE - SCHOOLMASTERS

Mr Patrick Leinge

by 29/4/1701 - "ane old man" 12/8/1702 (Cupar Pres.)

Mr Gavin Smith

presented 6/11/1716 (Pres.) - demitted 11/6/1717 (Pres.)

Mr Patrick Jackson

30/6/1719 (Pres.) & on 27/3/1747 (Pres.)

Mr James Miller

by 24/8/1796 (Heritors) - to Mart. 1840 (Heritors)

Mr John Cameron (from Thornton)

2/2/1840 (Heritors) - to after 1873

ABERDOUR - SCHOOLMASTERS

Mr James Weymes
(left Mortification)

Mr Francis Hannay
entered 19/6/1660 (Dunfermline Pres.) - left for Burntisland 21/9/1669 (K.S.)

Mr Walter Anderson
entered 3/10/1669 (K.S.) - demitted 26/11/1676 (K.S. by hand) paid housemail
2/3/1677 (P.R.)

Mr Charles McKinnon
entered 20/12/1676 (P.R.) - demitted (to Orwell) 7/9/1681 (K.S.) (Fasti)

Mr Alex Hay
entered 24/6/1681 (P.R.)

Mr James Williamsone
possibly 23/1/1685 (P.R.) & in 6/5/1687 (P.R.)

Mr Alexander Christie
1691 (P.R.) & see (K.S.) 20/7/1701 "these ten years" - demitted 18/8/1715
(Dunfermline Pres.)

regular payments to "a schoolmaster" to 1724

Mr John Frazer
by 8/1/1724 (K.S.) (Student of Divinity - Dunfermline Pres. 26/8/1730)
- died by 17/11/1762 (K.S.)

Mr George Gray
by 5/11/1763 (K.S.) - demitted after 31/7/1775 (K.S.) to Cupar G.School
(Cupar B.R. 3/6/1775)

Thomas Edgar
19/2/1776 (K.S.) - to Jan. 1785 (K.S.)

Mr James Wightman
by 28/5/1785 (K.S.)
"a schoolmaster" on 4/12/1790 (K.S.)

Mr Thomas Gibson
by 30/1/1791 (K.S.) - to 10/6/1798 (K.S.) licensed to preach 7/9/1796
(Dunfermline Pres.)

Adam Gibson
Oct. 1798 (K.S.) - to 8/1/1799 (K.S.)

Mr Thomas Gibson
by 8/1/1799 (K.S.) - to 1803 (Heritors 2/10/1802)

Mr James Lingair
7/1/1803 (Heritors) - to 7/11/1805 (K.S.)

Mr William Watson (from Kennoway)
9/12/1805 (K.S.) & (Heritors 21/5/1806) - demitted 11/9/1809 (Heritors)

Mr John Waugh
11/9/1809 (Heritors) - demitted between 4/9/1814 (K.S.) & 21/11/1814 (Her.)

Mr Alex Greig
Mart. 1814 (Her. 21/11/1814) - demitted Whit 1846 (Her. 27/2/1846)

Mr James Pringle
by 1866 (Westwoods Directory)

AUCHTERDERRAN - SCHOOLMASTERS

Mr (Edward) Bigholme
1641 - left for Dunfermline G.S. as doctor, May 1646 (Dunfermline K.S.
17/5/1646)

Mr Andro Malloch
Dec. 1647 - left by 19/9/1648

Mr Arthur Bruce
1648 - to 1669 at least

Mr Robert Walker
by 25/11/1684 (P.R.) & in 25/2/1686 - probably (by hand in P.R.) to 10/6/1689

Mr David Setten
1691

Mr Walter Anderson
18/12/1692 (P.R.) - to 1/7/1693 (P.R. by hand)

Mr Thomas Russell
2/5/1697 - to Sept. 1726

Mr David Ranken
7/9/1726 - to 1753

Mr James Trotter
1753 - to 1791

Mr David Baxter
1791 - to 1794

Mr Cant
Nov. 1794 - to April 1797

Mr Dow
April 1797 - to April 1799

James Mauro
April 1799 - to 1802

Mr Kilgour
3/9/1802 - Mart. 1802

Mr Robert Campbell
5/11/1802 - to 1831

Mr John McEwan
2/6/1831 - left for the Ministry 13/1/1839

Mr William Baird Low
Feb. 1839 - to June 1870

Mr Adam Rankine
1/11/1870 - to 1906.

(References, except where stated, to Archibald McNeill Houston, "Auchterderran, a Parish History" (Paisley 1924))

AUCHTERMUCHTY - SCHOOLMASTERS

Thomas Robertson

by 23/2/1596 (Reg.Gt.Seal, Vol.1,Ch.798)

Mr Patrick Carswell

by 1/2/1611 (Reg.Gt.Seal, Vol.VII,p.185) & on 3/5/1649 (Pres. of Cupar)

Mr William Ireland

- died by 2/11/1681 (Testaments)

Mr Alex Innes

by 5/3/1700 (Pres.) - died by 17/8/1702 (K.S.)

Mr David Ferrie

elected 4/8/1702 (K.S.) - died between 30/5/1726 & 6/6/1726 (K.S.)

Mr John Lowrie

elected 13/2/1727 (K.S.) - died between 11/10/1731 & 21/11/1731 (K.S.)

Mr George Aitken

2/12/1731 (K.S.) licensed to preach 1/1/1735 (Pres.) - demits 16/3/1747 (K.S.)
died by 7/8/1750 (Pres.)

Mr William Young (from Arngask)

16/3/1747 w.e.f. Whit (K.S.) - resigns Whit 1786 (K.S. 12/6/1786)

Mr Wilson

Whit 1786 (K.S. 12/6/1786)

Mr Readie

by Whit 1791 (see K.S. 4/8/1792) & in 4/7/1794 (K.S.)

Mr David Ballingall

by 2/2/1795 (K.S.) - to 7/3/1797 (K.S.)

Mr John Robertson

by 21/4/1797 (K.S.)

Mr William Gay

on 28/10/1799 (see Pres. 4/9/1804) - died 17/9/1819 (P.R.)

Mr Archibald Dickson

by 20/2/1820 (K.S.) - died 30/7/1863 (P.R.)

Mr William Borrowman

by 7/8/1863 (K.S.) & in 1866 (Westwoods Directory)

AUCHTERTOOL - SCHOOLMASTERS

Mr John Balvaird
25/11/1631 (Kirkcaldy Pres.) - became Minister in Orkney 1637

Mr William Thrift
9/11/1642 (Pres.) - died 1684

Mr Walter Cock
by 30/12/1684 (P.R.) & 1703

Mr William Halliday
on 24/10/1706

Mr Caleb Carlyle
1709

Mr Andrew Craigie
in 1716 - deserted by 6/9/1716

"Schoolmaster" on 30/6/1720 (Pres.)

Mr John Kelly
in 1723

Mr Matthew Meiklejohn
entered 21/10/1739

Robert Law
entered March 1741

Mr McFarlane
10/5/1741

Mr David Cram
24/1/1742 - "eloped & went off the county" 1750

Mr William Guild
6/5/1750 - to 1800

Mr Thomsen

Mr David Storrar
1847 (E.I.S.)

Mr David Millar
1866

(References, except where stated, to Stevenson,

BALLINGRY - SCHOOLMASTERS

3/6/1636 (Kirkcaldy Pres.) evidently no school

Mr James Reid
in 1669

Mr John Sage
1670

Mr William Wilson
July 1677 - left for Beath

Robert Dick
by 8/11/1685 (P.R.) - demitted 21/12/1709 (Pres.)

Mr Henrie Mitchell
Jan 1710

William Simson
1722 - died 12/12/1753

Mr ("Thos" Pres.) Marr
1755 (qualified 19/8/1756 Pres.) - to 17/12/1801 at least

Mr John Robertson
1802

Mr Stevenson
1805

Mr Andrew Laurence
1807

Andrew Tait Keppie
1858

(References, except where stated, to Rev. Mr. Jamie, "Old Church Life in
Ballingry".)

BALMERINO - SCHOOLMASTERS

"A schoolmaster" by 1637

Mr James Sibbald

appointed 5/12/1641 & in 1650

David Leitch (? from Dairsie - see Dairsie Schoolmasters)
- demitted 22/4/1657

John Wylie

1657 - died 1705

Robert Wylie (Willie - son to above)

appointed 11/1/1706; 19/2/1706 (Cupar Pres.)

Mr William Jack

appointed Aug. 1712; 21/10/1712 (Pres.) - to 1729

William Den

23/9/1729 - to 1731

William Arthur

1/11/1731 - to May 1732

Mr John Gow (Music Master, Cupar)

May or June 1732

Mr William Myles

mentioned 1737 & 1742 (Pres. 2/8/1737)

Mr Alexander Brown

October 1742

Mr George Gourlay

November 1744

Mr George Paton (from English School, St.Andrews (St.Andrews K.S. 11/5/1755))

13/5/1755 (Pres.)

Mr Andrew Gray

1763

Mr David Paton

by January 1781 - to 1830

Mr William Ballingall

1830 - died 1882

Except where otherwise stated, authority is Campbell "Balmerino & its Abbey".

BEATH - SCHOOLMASTERS

"a profane master (who committed abominations)"

P.R. 1640 (in N.S.A.)

Mr John Colville

by 20/4/1659 (Dunfermline Pres.) & in 3/12/1662 (Pres.)

Robert Grig

19/10/1673 (K.S.) for 1 year at least

John Colvil ("Reader")

by 3/8/1674 (K.S.)

William Wilson

June 1678(K.S.) 3/3/1678 (P.R.) - deprived 29/6/1691 as Precentor (K.S.)

Mr John Daes

entered 4/4/1697 (K.S.) & 11/1/1698 (K.S.)

Mr Thomas Barry (from Leslie)

entered 3/11/1698 (K.S.)

Mr Thomas Bruce

entered 29/3/1700 (K.S.) & (Dunfermline Pres. 7/8/1700)

Mr Thomas Berry (Barry)

in 11/4/1703 (K.S.) & in 1702 & 29/5/1704 (K.S.)

John Kelty

"one of our schoolmasters" 24/10/1718 (K.S.)

Mr Alex Leach

by 19/10/1720 (K.S.) & (Pres. 2/8/1722) - demitted (to Kinghorn) 2/7/1723 (K.S.)

Mr William Maitland

2/7/1723 (K.S.) & in 1727 (K.S.)

Mr William Gibb

entered 11/5/1741 (K.S.)

Mr Martin McPherson

- demitted by 19/3/1746 (Dunfermline Pres.)

Mr James Glass

19/3/1746 (Pres.) & in 16/6/1754 (P.R.) by hand to 25/9/1763

Mr Alex Wilson

by 29/8/1764 (K.S.) & on 20/7/1776 (P.R.) - to 1/9/1778 (by hand in K.S.)

James Duncanson

by 3/5/1786 (K.S.) - died by August 1816

Mr William Bethune

- to Kennoway 9/8/1830 (Kennoway K.S.)

Mr Alex Bethune

by 5/12/1830 (K.S.) - secedes, resigns 22/9/1843 (Heritors)

Mr Thomas Scott (from Kirkcaldy)

entered 7/12/1843 (Heritors - died Oct. 1872

Mr Lindsay (from Lundin Mill)

entered 20/12/1872 (Heritors)

BURNTISLAND - SCHOOLMASTERS

"A schoolmaster"

1596 "no settled maintenance" (Burgh Schools Report p.95)

"A schoolmaster"

1602 (Ibid)

No Grammar School

Synod, 1611

School built

1620 (Burgh Schools Report)

Mr Thomas Crystie

by 15/3/1630 (R.Gt.S.)

Mr Johne Irvine (Irvine)

entered 1635 (Grant); 19/3/1640 & 23/6/1647 Schoolmaster approved by
Presbytery - died by 5/7/1669 (B.R.)

Mr Francis Hannay (from Aberdour)

entered 16/8/1669 (B.R.) - dismissed Xmas 1674 (Blyth, p.179)

Mr Walter Denestoune (from Kirkcaldy)

by 26/2/1677 (Kirkcaldy B.R.) & 11/18/1682 (P.R.) - demitted 11/10/1686 (B.R.)

Mr Samuel Ranken

entered 18/10/1686 (B.R.) - deposed August 1687 (Blyth, p.179)

Mr Thomas Edmond (from Canongate)

entered August 1687 (Blyth, p.179) - discharged 11/8/1690 (B.R.)

Mr Arthur Shepherd (from Kinross)

entered 22/9/1690 (B.R.) - demitted 14/12/1691 (B.R.)

Mr Thomas Edmond

entered 14/12/1691 (B.R.) - deposed 14/11/1709 (B.R.)

Mr James Guthrie

entered 27/1/1710 (B.R.) - deposed (Pres.) 26/5/1715, but not by Burgh
till 9/8/1716 (Kirkcaldy Pres.)

Mr William Drummond (from Muckhart)

entered 30/11/1719 - demitted 15/10/1733 (B.R.)

Mr Andrew Black (from Dalgety)

entered 5/11/1733 (B.R.) - deposed by Pres. 26/3/1741

Mr Caw

entered 14/6/1742, mentioned 5/9/1743 (B.R.)

Vacancy in 22/11/1743.

BURNTISLAND → SCHOOLMASTERS cont.

Mr James Wilson

before 22/9/1748 (Pres. Kirkcaldy)

mentioned 20/2/1751

- deposed by 7/11/1749 (Presbytery)
reposed 21/2/1751 (Pres.)
died by 12/7/1762 (B.R.)

Mr Murray

Temporary teacher from 3/9/1749 (B.R. 3/9/1750)

Mr John Richardson

(from Abbotshall 19/7/1762 (B.R.) - demitted 16/3/1769 (B.R.)
(became Minister of Newburn)

Mr Patrick Gordon (from Lasswade)

entered 1/8/1769 (B.R.)

- died 19/11/1777 (B.R.)

Mr James Cant

entered 6/3/1778 (B.R. 20/1/1778
& 1/7/1778

jointly with

- discharged 9/1/1781 (B.R.)

Mr Andrew Robertson

entered 6/3/1778

- discharged 9/1/1781
(became Schoolmaster of Culross)
(MS. Culross Her. 22/2/1782)

Mr James Reid (student of Divinity - Kirkcaldy Pres. 12/5/1784)

entered Whit 1781 (on trial)

(B.R. 8/2/1783)

- died by 16/3/1798 (B.R.)

Mr Skeoch (from Pathhead)

entered 17/10/1798 (B.R.)

- discharged 2/11/1802 (B.R.)

Mr John Davidson

by 26/10/1805 (B.R.)

mentioned 30/11/1808 (Kirkcaldy Pres.)

Mr Walter Davidson (son of Mr John Davidson)

appointed before 1843 (Young, History of Burntisland)

Mr David Low

appointed 1856 (Burgh Schools Report)

& in 1866 (Westwoods Directory)

BURNTISLAND - SCHOOLDOCTORS

Mr David Christie
in 12/11/1660 (B.R.)

- deposed 27/2/1710 (B.R.)

Mr John Bayne
entered 29/4/1711 (B.R.)

- demitted Mart. 1733 (B.R. 5/11/1733)

No schooldoctor - "school loo" (B.R. 5/11/1733)

Mr Carey

- demitted 20/1/1808 (B.R.)

Mr George Hunter
entered 20/1/1808 (B.R.)

CAMERON - SCHOOLMASTERS

"no settled maintenance" (St.Andrews Pres. 21/3/1655)
 Mr Thomas Ferney
 by 6/7/1709 (Pres.)
 Mr John Dott
 by 26/10/1726 (Pres.) & in 17/4/1737 (Pres.)
 ? Mr John Henderson
 P.R. Nov. 1738 & March 1739
 Alexander Kirkcaldie
 by 28/10/1761 (Pres.) possibly by 31/1/1742 (P.R.)
 James Nicholson
 admitted 17/12/1777 (Pres.)
 ? John Lawfoot (Session Clerk)
 by 1/10/1783 (see P.R. 18/10/1785)
 John Lamb (Session Clerk)
 by 1788 (see P.R. 22/10/1787)
 ? Orin
 1795 & 1798 P.R.
 Mr John Morton
 14/10/1807 (Pres.)
 Mr Henry Maxwell (from Auchtermuchty)
 15/10/1823 (Heritors) - resigns August 1868 (Heritors)
 Mr John Robertson (from Alloa Academy)
 19/10/1868 (Heritors)

CARNBEE - SCHOOLMASTERS

"Had bought a house for the school"
 4/11/1657 (St.Andrews Pres.)
 "A schoolmaster"
 21/9/1664 (Pres.)
 Mr William Youngson
 by 22/8/1693 (P.R.) & on 7/3/1696 (P.R.)
 Mr John Watson
 entered 22/8/1697 (P.R.) - "late schoolmaster" 25/4/1705 (Pres.)
 Mr John Thom
 entered 27/5/1705 (P.R.) & in 21/3/1762 (P.R.) - hand changes thereafter
 Mr John Mackie
 entered 6/5/1762 (Pres.) - "about to leave bounds" 6/2/1782 (Pres.)
 Mr David Wilson
 before 1787 (Heritors) - resigned 20/3/1844 (Her.) died 22/3/1849
 Mr James Anderson (from Gramend)
 22/6/1844 (Heritors) - resigned 1/4/1857 (Heritors)
 Mr John Smith
 1/4/1857 (Heritors) & in 1884 (Heritors)

CARNOCK - SCHOOLMASTERS

James Dennestoun
3/9/1643 (Parish Register)

John Read
1646, & 1/10/1648

James Wilson
1648

James Hutton
19/11/1648 - deprived 9/9/1664

A schoolmaster deposed 1681

William Walker
by 22/8/1682

Thomas Douglas
14/6/1694 (Pres.) - died 1710

Vacancy 3 years

Henry Lindsay
29/5/1713, licensed by Pres. 12/8/1719

John Loudon (from Kinnoull)
20/4/1719 - demitted 19/8/1745

George Muir
14/5/1746 - resigned 12/2/1748

William Anderson
3/6/1748

James Pirie
23/11/1768

David Christie
/12/1769 - died May 1771

John Henderson
11/7/1771 - 23/12/1776

Alex Gibson
10/5/1778 - resigned 1806

Robert T. Johnston
8/10/1807 - died 6/10/1808

Alex McGregor
5/1/1809 - 29/6/1842

Alexander Miller Ferguson
13/10/1842 - died Feb. 1853

Peter Stewart
6/7/1853 - 20/10/1858

Duncan Fisher
1863 & in 1866 (Westwoods Directory.)

Robert Peattie
left for N.Z. May, 1875

(References from Webster, "Carnock")

CERES - SCHOOLMASTERS

- Rev. Patrick Couston (Adamson)
 1560 (A.H. Miller, "Fife, Pictorial & Historical")
 Mr Jhone Litguour (?)
 before 27/3/1625 (K.S.) - to ? 4/6/1626 (P.R.)
 Jhone Thomsone
 entered 25/6/1626 (K.S.) - demitted 10/7/1631 (K.S. in P.R.)
 Mr George Bennett
 entered 11/9/1631 (K.S.) - demitted 30/9/1632 (K.S. in P.R.)
 Mr Jon Moir
 interim, Mart. 1632 (K.S. 30/12/1632) - to 21/4/1633 (30/12/1632 K.S. in P.R.)
 Mr James Craig
 entered 21/4/1633 (K.S.) - to 8/11/1640 (K.S. in P.R.)
 Jhone Thomsone
 entered 13/12/1640 (K.S.) - buried 13/5/1651 (P.R.)
 Mr Kinnimanth
 - died 8/8/1662 (Lamont)
 Mr James Fairfull
 (a "James Fairfull" from 20/9/1682 to 22/5/1688 (P.R.)) - 17/12/1706 (Cupar Pres.)
 William Petrie
 before Dec. 1706 (Pres. 17/12/1706) - discharged by Pres. 18/3/1707
 Mr James Gib
 by 1/2/1709 (Pres.) - died by March 1716 (Pres.)
 Mr Robert Graham (from Crail, doctor)
 entered 22/5/1716 (Pres.) & in 8/11/1721 (Pres.)
 Mr James Jamieson (from Biggar school)
 17/9/1723 (Pres.) - 27/5/1729 (Pres.)
 Mr William Jack
 by 17/9/1730 (Pres.) various dates to 8/8/1749 (Pres.) - died c. March 1752
 (Collections & Disbursements)
 Mr Thomas Peirson
 by Lammas 1752 (K.S. Disb.) see K.S. 27/3/1754
 Mr David Kermock
 - to St. Andrews English School (St. Andrews B.R. 9/8/1770)
 Mr Luke Frazer
 14/12/1779 (Pres.) - "unfit to hold" (Pres. 9/3/1802)
 "school has been vacant 4 months" (Pres. Oct. 1803)
 Mr William Clark
 18/12/1804 (Pres.) - died 6/3/1830 (Heritors 2/6/1830)
 Mr Johnstone
 entered 26/6/1830 (Heritors) - to Jan. 1835 (Her. 6/2/1835)
 Mr Andrew Taylor (from Denny)
 entered Whit 1835 (Her.) - resigned (to Duddingston) Feb. 1842 (Her.)
 Mr David Scott
 entered Whit 1842 (Her.) - left for Old Cumnock 13/7/1844 (Her.)
 Mr George Taylor (from Anstruther Wester)
 entered 8/11/1844 (Her.) - left for Liberton by 3/10/1845 (Her.)
 Mr William Palmer (from Edinburgh)
 entered 21/11/1845 (Her.)
 Mr John Trotter
 entered 31/3/1848 (Her.) - died Aug. 1870 (Her.)
 Mr Robert Weir
 entered Mart. 1870 (Her.)

COLLESSIE - SCHOOLMASTERS

Thomas McLellan
before 1655 (Newburgh K.S. 27/5/1655)

Mr George Richardson
entered 20/9/1649 (Cupar Pres.)

Mr Edward Begholme
in 26/10/1651 (MS. Auchtermuchty K.S.)

Mr William Myll
- left for Ferry (Ferry K.S. 16/6/1653)

"a schoolmaster"
14/7/1659 (Pres.)

Mr James Wilsone
by 10/12/1700 (Pres.)

James Wilson
in 16/12/1755 (Pres.)

Mr James Rankin
entered 20/7/1762 (Pres.)

Mr Thomas Laurie
by 12/5/1792 (Her.) - retired 19/7/1844 (Her.) died 30/4/1851 (Her. 7/6/1851)

Mr Kay (assistant)
24/11/1834 (Her.)

Mr Duncan (assistant)
29/3/1839 (Her.)

Mr Thomas Hislop
appointed (as Colleague & Successor) 19/7/1844 (Her.) - left for Uphall
10/1/1845 (Her.)

Mr James Hislop (from Ayr Academy)
- resigns w.e.f. Nov. 1846 (Her.)

Mr Francis Bissett

GREICH - SCHOOLMASTERS

Mortification of "2,000 merks to maintain a school" Aug.1646 (Cupar Pres.
27/1/1654)

Mr Andrew Buttercesse
admitted for 1 year 30/5/1650 (Pres.)

Mr George Duncan
entered 12/10/1654 (Pres.)

Mr George Patersons
before 26/1/1660 - became Minister of Dairsie, 1665 (Fasti)

James Brown
by 10/12/1700 (Pres.) & various dates to 29/6/1713 (P.R.)

Mr George Davidson (from Dunbog)
22/11/1719 (Dunbog K.S.) - to 1743 (N.S.A.)

A vacancy from Whit to Martinmas 1743 (Pres. 27/3/1747)

James Mitchel
by 10/3/1747 (Pres.)

Mr John Robertson
before 28/11/1795

Mr David Fletcher
by 1801 (P.R.) - died 1820 (Her. 17/5/1820)

Mr John Miller (from Gauldry)
elected 17/5/1820 (Her.) w.e.f. 5/6/1820 - retired 17/8/1869 (Her.12/5/1869)

Mr Copland; entered 27/9/1869 (Her.) - resigned 6/11/1869

Mr George I. Leslie; entered 6/11/1869

CULROSS - SCHOOLMASTERS

- Will Home (also Minister of Torryburn & Crombie)
in 1585, (Fasti Vol.8, p.415) & in 1589 (R. Sec. Sig. lix, fol. 116b)
- Mr David Ewing
died by 1603 (Act Parl. V, p.90)
- John Fairfoul
1603 (Fasti) (See also Act Parl. V, p.90)
- Mr Samuel Tullidaff
by 24/11/1623 (Reg. Gt. Seal) & 25/5/1628 (R. G. Seal (8) p.491) & in 7/3/1636
(K.S.)
- Mr James Meldrum
by 25/6/1640 (K.S.) prob. from 4/2/1638, & in 22/3/1653 (K.S.)
- Mr Alex Coupar (Cowpar)
21/4/1653 (P.R.) & 10/8/1664 (Protocol Book Culross, p.127) to Jan. 1666 at
latest.
- Mr William Brown
in 4/9/1667 (Culross Protocol Book 1660-1673, No.166) - left for Stirling
Grammar Sch. 15/9/1673 (B.R.S.)
- Mr Michael Potter
after 1674 (R.P.C.) - gone by 8/6/1677 (R.P.C.)
- another schoolmaster
(R.P.C. June 1677, III Vol.5, p.181)
- Mr Geo Reid
by 13/5/1683 (K.S.) & in 13/4/1684 (K.S.)
- Mr Alex Toshach
admitted on trial 25/7/1693 (K.S.) - demitted 14/2/1693 (K.S.)
- Mr William Drummond
admitted on trial 25/7/1693 (K.S.) - discharged 1/5/1695 (Pres. of Kirkcaldy
& Dunfermline)
- Mr Thomas Mopet
admitted 9/7/1695 (K.S.) - to Whit 1698 (K.S. 10/5/1698)
- Mr William Wright
13/8/1700 (K.S.) - removes 29/12/1702 (K.S.)
- Mr David Cree
29/12/1702 (K.S.) & in 7/2/1706
- Mr James Smith
22/4/1707 (K.S.) & in 9/8/1709
- Mr Colline Sharp
by 27/8/1712 (Dunfermline Pres.)
- Mr John Farquhar
11/1/1721 (Dunfermline Pres.) - died 1745/6.

CULROSS - SCHOOLMASTERS cont.

Mr David Cairns

19/2/1746 (Dunfermline Pres.) - died 25/10/1781 (Churchyard Memorial acc.to A.S.Cunningham) (1)

Mr Andrew Robertson (from Burntisland)

elected 22/2/1782 (Heritors) - resigned Mart. 1787 (Her. 6/10/1796)

Mr David Ireland

Mart. 1787 (Heritors) - resigns Whit. 1797 (Her. 26/10/1796)

Mr William Brown (usher Musselburgh)

5/6/1797 (Heritors) - resigns Whit. 1799 (Her. 8/5/1799)

Mr David Balmain

31/7/1800 (Heritors) - resigns w.o.f. Mart. 1812

Mr James Gourlay (private teacher, Falkirk)

22/4/1813 (Heritors) - resigns 31/10/1816 (Her.)

Mr George Ewing (from Torryburn)

12/12/1816 (Heritors) - resigns 16/3/1820 (Her.)

Mr John Burden

elected 15/5/1820 (Heritors) - resigns 31/8/1835 (Her.)

Mr Robert Drummond (from Parley Hill School, Culross)

elected 16/10/1835 (Heritors) - died by 10/12/1836

Mr Alexander Livingstone (from Kirkcowan Parish School)

elected 21/2/1837 (Heritors) - resigned 10/1/1846 (Her.)

Mr John K. Penny (Assistant, Orwell)

10/4/1846 (Heritors) - died 5/2/1898 (Cash Book)

CULROSS - DOCTORS

A Doctor

1646 (K.S. 5/4/1646)

Robert Couston

appointed 24/5/1653 (K.S.)

Alex Toshach

13/8/1676 (K.S.) & in 21/10/1681 (K.S.)

Mr J. Mercer

13/4/1684 (K.S.) reponed 14/5/1684 (K.S.) in 1685 (Stephen, History, p.390)

CULTS - SCHOOLMASTERS

Alexander List (from Kirkcaldy)
entered 31/5/1649 (Cupar Pres.)

"assistance required for settling of maintenance" (Pres. 22/3/1660)

Mungo Blyth
by 1704 ("there for 6 years" Pres. 19/10/1710) & in 1710 - died c.Feb.
1727 (P.R. 19/2/1727)

William Chisolme
entered 19/2/1727 (P.R.)

Mr William Buchanan
by 25/3/1760 (Pres.) (from 1744 or '43, see Pres. 25/1/1763)

Mr James Diston
by 11/10/1803 (Pres.)

Mr John Hislop
- resigned 12/2/1845 (Heritors)

Mr James Smith
12/2/1845 (Her.) - to Tynwald by 10/10/1848 (Her.)

Mr George Mackinlay (from Dalmair)
elected 22/12/1848 (Her. 1/1/1849) - resigned 28/2/1851; died 12/6/1851
(Her.)

Mr Charles Robertson
22/2/1851 (Her.) & in 1866 (Westwoods Directory)

CUPAR - SCHOOLMASTERS

A schoolmaster in 26/6/1564. (Book of the Universal Kirk, p.46)

Mr John Tullie

First mention 24/2/1580 (R.Gt.S.) & mentioned 10/12/1596 (Ibid)

Robert Williamsone

- demitted 10/2/1628 (B.R.)

Mr Alexander Scott

by 1634 (See B.R. 5/8/1638) - demitted 28/2/1638 (B.R.)

Mr Robert Williamsone

admitted 28/2/1638 (B.R.) to 16/4/1648 (B.R.)

Mr Andro Andersone

admitted 16/4/1648 (B.R.) - demitted 4/12/1660 (B.R.)

Mr John Williamsone

Dec. 1660 (see B.R. 13/11/1661) - dismissed 13/11/1661 (B.R.)

Mr Robert Killoch (Kinloch) (from Falkland)

entered 13/11/1661 (B.R.) - demitted 5/2/1667 (B.R.)

John Williamsone (acting)

1667 - 1670 (18/12/1670 B.R.)

Mr John Chalmers

appointed 18/12/1670 (B.R.) - demitted 16/12/1706 (B.R.)

Mr David Millar

22/1/1707 (B.R.) on 6 months' trial - (to Kirkcaldy) 1/5/1724 (B.R. 10/3/1724)

Mr James Mair (from Bridge of Earn)

admitted 23/10/1724 (B.R.) - Will proved 18/11/1741 (Index of Tests. 407)

Mr Walter Greig

admitted 22/4/1740 (Cupar Pres.) - (to Perth) 20/3/1744 (Cupar Pres.)

Mr John Halket (from Prestonpans)

recently come 24/4/1744 (Pres.) - (to St.Andrews G.S.) 7/7/1762 (B.R.)

Mr John Murray (from Kirkcaldy G.S.)

admitted 7/7/1762 (B.R.) - (to Musselburgh) 27/4/1763 (B.R.)

Mr William Noble (from Edinburgh)

admitted 16/5/1763 (B.R.) - resigned 8/4/1775 (B.R.)

Mr George Gray (from Aberdour)

appointed 3/6/1775 (B.R.) enter Lammas 1775 - resigned w.e.f. 2/11/1788
(B.R. 6/5/1788)

After this date the school was divided.

LATIN SCHOOL

John Bayne (from Kirkcudbright)

21/10/1788 -(to South Leith)

25/4/1795 (B.R.)

Mr John Nivison (from Falkland)

5/5/1795 - d. by 13/10/1795

Mr Andrew Bell

13/11/1795 - dismissed 13/5/1802

(B.R.)

Mr James Clark (from Forfar)

24/9/1802 (B.R.) - ? 1822

ENGLISH SCHOOL

Mr Robert Wiseman

21/10/1788 - mentioned

25/9/1819 (B.R.)

MADRAS ACADEMY

CUPAR - DOCTORS.

Mr Henry Sybhal
demitted 3/11/1626 (B.R.)

Mr John Moreis
entered 3/11/1626 (B.R.) - "late" in 1659

Mr John Williamsone (1)
entered October 1656 (B.R. 9/2/1659) - to 1660 (B.R. 13/11/1661)

Mr John Williamsone
re-appointed 5/2/1662 (B.R.) doctor & schoolmaster 5/2/1667 to 7/9/1668 (B.R.)

Mr Alexander Ker (Skairs)
entered 7/9/1668 (B.R.) to 27/11/1669 (B.R.)

Mr Johne Sibbald
entered 18/12/1669 (B.R.)

Mr John Williamson
entered 30/12/1670 (B.R.) - demits 16/12/1706 (B.R.)

Mr Henry Dewar
entered 5/7/1707 (B.R.) - demits 9/3/1708 (B.R.)

Mr David Millar
entered 3/5/1708 (B.R.) - demits 14/1/1709 (B.R.)

Mr William Gray
entered 7/6/1709 (B.R.) - dismissed 13/9/1725, re-appointed 17/3/1726 (B.R.)

Mr John Gray
? (see 15/11/1760 B.R.)

FIRST DOCTOR

SECOND DOCTOR

Mr John Hay
to Kirkcaldy 30/5/1748
(Kirkcaldy B.R.)

Mr Daniel Manson
before 12/9/1758 (B.R.) demits by
7/10/1761 (B.R.)

Mr John Symson
dead by 15/11/1760 (B.R.)

Mr James Ross (from Aberdeen)
entered 5/12/1761 (B.R.) demits 19/8/1763
(B.R.)

Mr John Gray (from Leith)
entered 15/11/1760 (B.R.)
demits 10/2/1764 (B.R.)

Mr John Irvine (from Little Dunkeld)
entered 3/11/1763 (B.R.) demits 29/4/1772
(B.R.)

Mr James Leighton (from Dairsie)
entered 10/2/1764 (B.R.)
demits 1/4/1785 (B.R.)

Mr John Jesson
entered Lammis 1772 (B.R. 22/7/1772)
dismissed (by Schoolmaster) 8/11/1777
(B.R. 15/12/1777) to Dunfermline in 1779.

1. Mr. Williamsone was for one year (1660-61) schoolmaster. (B.R. 13/11/1661)

CUPAR - DOCTORS cont.

SECOND DOCTOR

Mr Robert Marr

dismissed w.e.f. 30/11/1784 (B.R. 4/11/1784)

Mr Robert Wiseman

entered 19/3/1785 (B.R.)

appointed English Schoolmaster 21/10/1788
(B.R.)

DOCTOR OF ENGLISH SCHOOL

Mr Turpie

(B.R. 15/5/1805)

Mr James Dickson

entered October 1818 (B.R. 25/9/1819)

DAIRSIE - SCHOOLMASTERS

"a school" by 18/3/1649 (K.S.)

David Leitch

before 30/11/1651 (K.S.) - demitted Martinmas 1652

Alexander Orme

entered 14/11/1652 (K.S.) mentioned 27/2/1676 (K.S.)

(Alexander Orm, "schoolmaster", Pres. 10/12/1700)

John Wilkie

- deposed 19/9/1727 (Cupar Pres.)

Mr Andrew Cornfute

entered 1/10/1727 (K.S.)

Robert Greig (Session Clerk - probably schoolmaster)

by 5/5/1730 (Pres.)

James Lothian

by 8/5/1745 (K.S.) - died by 5/10/1747 (K.S.)

Mr John Buck

by 1/9/1748 (K.S.) - to 5/6/1749 (K.S.)

William Ferguson

by 29/11/1749 (K.S.) admitted by Pres. 20/2/1750 - demitted 21/5/1752 (K.S.)

James Leighton

24/6/1752 (K.S.) admitted by Pres. 27/3/1753 - to Cupar 10/2/1764 (K.S.)

Benjamin Ker

by 17/12/1771 (Pres.) - ? to Leuchars 1775

Mr James Lonie

- to Kilrennie 1/11/1782

"Legal school" (Pres. 3/9/1799)

Mr David Inglis

before 20/12/1803 (Pres.) - to Glamis 12/3/1804 (Pres.)

Mr Peter Shepherd

admitted 12/2/1805 (Pres.) "acting" in 24/3/1807 (Pres.)

Mr John Young

- died October 1835 (Heritors)

Mr John Panten

entered 5/12/1835 (Her.) - demitted 11/10/1837

Mr Harry Bruce (from Balmullo)

entered 1/11/1837 (Her.) - "late" by 21/4/1859 (Her.)

Mr Alexander Hutchison

entered 5/6/1859 (K.S.) - died August 1870 (Her.)

Mr James Beveridge

entered Nov. 1870 (K.S.)

DALGETY - SCHOOLMASTERS

"Patrick Anderson, reader"

by 9/3/1645 (K.S. in P.R.) & on 8/6/1645 (P.R.)

"a schoolmaster"

29/2/1647 (Dunfermline Pres.)

Mr William Gillies

"on tryal" 15/3/1647 (K.S. in P.R.)

William Campbell

entered 8/8/1647 (K.S. in P.R.)

Mr Robert Wilson

entered 20/11/1649 (K.S. in P.R.) & on 29/10/1662 (Dunfermline Pres.)

William Ballingall

after 5/2/1671 (Dunbog K.S.) & 13/5/1677 (Dunbog K.S.)

Mr Robert Laing

7/8/1700 (Pres.)

Mr David Ballingall

20/7/1709 (P.R.) & on 26/8/1713 (Pres.) - dismissed by 27/9/1728 (Pres.)

Mr Andrew Black

- became schoolmaster Burntisland (Burntisland B.R. 5/11/1733)

Mr David Rintoul

2/8/1738 (St. Andrews Pres.)

Mr John Bell

4/8/1744 (Dunfermline Pres.) & there on 21/2/1779 (P.R.)

Mr Cant

entered 23/4/1793 (Dunfermline Pres.)

"no schoolmaster" - 1801

Mr Duncan McLaren

entered 24/11/1806 (Her.)

Mr Andrew Inglis

entered 16/1/1811 (Heritors) - retires Whit 1859 (Heritors)

John Cunningham

assistant 28/3/1859 (Her.) elected 6/7/1860 (Her.) - to after 1873

DUNBOG - SCHOOLMASTERS

Mr Johnne Duncane
before 29/5/1659 (Newburgh K.S.)

Mr William Ballingall
1666 (title page, K.S.) - to Dalgety 5/2/1671 (K.S.)

Mr Robert Morum
entered 6/6/1672 (K.S.) - to Whit 1678 (K.S. 7/4/1678)

Mr James Jackson
by 1687 (see Cupar Pres. 5/12/1699); probably from 1681 (hand in K.S.)
- 1702

William Balfour
4/11/1705 (K.S.) - "late" schoolmaster 20/6/1707

George Davidson (from Flisk)
9/11/1707 (K.S.) - to Greich 23/11/1719 (K.S.)

Andrew Neilson (from Kemback)
by 15/5/1720 (P.R.) - died by 20/8/1729 (Pres.)

Mr John Moncrief (from Fergan)
10/11/1730 (Pres.) - "late" by 2/4/1762 (K.S.)

James Thomson
admitted 16/10/1759 (Pres.)

Mr David Ferguson
by 2/4/1762 (P.R.) - died 31/7/1789 (K.S.)

Mr James MacKeith
16/10/1789 (K.S.) - to June 1838 (Heritors)

Mr William Black (from Balmullo)
2/6/1838 (K.S.) - to 1836 (K.S.)

FLISK - SCHOOLMASTERS

"School appointed to be settled there" (Cupar Pres. 22/7/1647)

Mr George Davidson
27/12/1699 (Pres.) - to Dunbog (Dunbog K.S. 9/11/1707)

Mr Peter Jackson
admitted 23/12/1718 (Pres.)

Mr Robert Small
admitted Mar. 1724 (Pres. 9/10/1729) & in

Mr Alexander Henderson
by 1851 (E.I.S.) - died 1882 (Heritors)

DUNFERMLINE - MASTERS of GRAMMAR SCHOOL

- John Moffat
before 1519 & in 1525 (Beveridge, p.168) & 298)
- John Wemyss
by 1530 (Beveridge, p.270) & after 1543 (Webster, Dunfermline)
- John Henryson
before 1560 & in 1573 (R.P.C. Vol.II. 13/10/1573)
- Mr John Fairfoul
by 19/8/1582 (P.R.) & in 1585 (P.R. 22/9/1585)
- Mr James Dalgleish
by 18/2/1598 (P.R.) & 19/4/1610 (Shearer)
- Mr William Smith
appointed Dec.1610 (Shearer, p.81) & in 17/3/1616 (P.R.)
- Mr James Sibbald (Sibbald)
by 31/3/1618 (P.R.) - left to become Minister of Torryburn 12/3/1629
(Shearer, p.162)
- Mr James Reddie (Ready, Riddy) (from Inverkeithing) (Stephen, History, p.273)
appointed 8/5/1629 (Shearer, p.63) & in 1/6/1643 (P.R.)
- Mr Thomas Walker
by 23/1/1649 (K.S.) & in 20/4/1666 (B.R.) probably to 29/2/1668 (B.R.)
- Mr John Cowie
appointed 25/11/1668 (B.R.)
- Mr John Kinnaird
appointed 29/10/1670 (B.R.) - deserted 12/2/1676 (B.R.)
- Mr Thomas Marshall
appointed 1/5/1676 (B.R.) - demitted 27/9/1679 (B.R.) to Carnock as Minister
- William Hay
appointed 30/3/1680 (B.R.) - elected schoolmaster South Leith 3/3/1682
(Book of the Cross Kirk, Peebles, p.288)
- Mr Patrick Dykes
by 19/4/1685 (K.S.) - died 1704 (B.R. 8/12/1704)
- John Hart
appointed for 3 months 23/6/1705 (B.R.) - deposed 7/7/1705 (B.R.)
- James Graham (Grane)
appointed 23/6/1705 (B.R.) - died 1/3/1708 (B.R. 26/6/1708)
- James Bayne
by 9/11/1708 (B.R.) & on 3/12/1747 (K.S.)
- Mr George Brown (promoted from dectorship)
admitted 4/3/1748 (B.R.) & on 27/11/1768 (K.S.)
- Mr Alexander Ramsay
appointed 26/4/1776 (B.R.) - retired 7/7/1812 (B.R.)
- Archibald Haxton
appointed as assistant 26/5/1810 (B.R.)
appointed schoolmaster 27/7/1812 (B.R.) - Oct. 1850 (Annals, p.663)
- W.T.Brown
appointed 7/2/1851 (B.R.)
- John Dunn
appointed 1871 (Annals).

DUNFERMLINE - DOCTORS of GRAMMAR SCHOOL

- Mr Robert Durie
by 1598 (Annals, p.249)
"a doctor"
Nov. 1607 (Shearer, p.42)
? William Cullen (Cullen)
by 25/10/1611 (Shearer)
John Anderson
by 24/11/1620 (Shearer) & in 11/1/1632 (P.R.)
John Hodge
entered 6/8/1640 (Shearer) - to May, 1646 (K.S. 5/5/1646)
Mr Edward Bigholme
entered 17/5/1646 (K.S.)
Alexander McGlan
entered 21/5/1647 (K.S.)
Mr Samuel Henriksen
entered 2/4/1648 (K.S.) & on 10/4/1649 (K.S.)
Mr Edward Bigholme
entered Whit 1649 (K.S. 13/9/1649) & 20/3/1650 (K.S.)
Mr David Kiven
entered Mart. 1650 (K.S. 31/12/1650) & on 21/5/1651 (K.S.)
Mr John Kay
entered Whit 1651 (K.S. 12/10/1651) & on 19/7/1653 (K.S.)
Robert Inglis
entered Lammis 1653 (K.S. 20/9/1653) & on 15/3/1659 (K.S.)
Mr Patrick Mylne
entered 30/4/1661 (K.S.) & on 1/1/1665 (K.S.)
Mr James Anderson
entered 19/8/1665 (B.R.)
Mr William Walker
by 30/12/1667 (K.S.)
Mr Peter Kennedy
admitted 29/5/1672 (B.R.) - died 1704 (B.R. 9/1/1705)
Mr Thomas Anderson
admitted 9/1/1705 (B.R.)
Mr John Hart
admitted 26/4/1711 (B.R.) - deposed 11/2/1745 (K.S.)
Andrew Donaldson
admitted 30/5/1745 (K.S.) - dismissed 17/3/1746 (K.S.)
Mr George Brown (from Airth, schoolmaster)
admitted 1/5/1746 (K.S.) - became schoolmaster, of Dunfermline 4/8/1748 (K.S.)
Mr Richard Jamieson
entered Whit 1748 (B.R. 19/9/1748) - resigned Mart. 1750 (K.S. 1/9/1750)
William Hutton
admitted 13/9/1750 (K.S.) - resigned Mart. 1767 (K.S. 9/8/1767)
Andrew Donaldson
re-appointed 12/10/1767 (B.R.) - dismissed - insanity - 5/9/1774 (B.R.)
John Goodeir (from Milton of Balgonie)
appointed 3/10/1774 (B.R.) - resigned 10/1/1776 (B.R.)
Mr John Jesson (from Cupar)
appointed 23/4/1779 (B.R.) & in 1789 (Annals)

DUNFERMLINE - MASTERS OF SANG SCHOOL

John Burn

"reader" in 2/3/1574 (Shearer, p.4) may have been Sang Schoolmaster

Mr William Smith

"reader" by 8/11/1583 (P.R.) - died by 26/12/1598 (P.R.)

Mr John Walker

admitted 5/12/1604 (P.R.) & in 1621 (Shearer, p.131)

William Cullen

interim 10/3/1623 (Shearer, p.140)

Mr Stevin Tullidaff (Tullidoff)

admitted 1/6/1627 (Shearer, p.157) - demitted 20/12/1636 (Shearer, p.166)

Mr Robert Anderson

admitted on 21/2/1631 (Shearer, p.167) - died by 17/4/1687 (K.S.)

John Christie

by 17/4/1687 (K.S.) - died by Whit 1716 (B.R. 22/2/1717)

James Craig

presented by Patron 18/9/1716 (B.R.) refused by Pres. 24/12/1716

John Brand

admitted by Pres. 9/1/1717 & in 1729 (Webster) Dunfermline)

Alexander Scott

by 26/8/1741 (B.R.) - died by 17/12/1744 (B.R.)

Andrew Beveridge

appointed 2/8/1745 (B.R.) - will proved 22/6/1772 (Index of Testaments,
Com. St. Andrews)

James Bain

appointed 23/10/1772 (K.S.)

James Christie (from Kennoway)

appointed 10/7/1776 (B.R.) - died Sept. 1817 (Annals, p.504)

James Rankine

appointed 1819 (Annals, p.659) - died 21/4/1849 Annals, p.659)

George Martin

appointed April, 1849 (Annals, p.659)

John Locke

appointed 13/11/1853 (Annals, p.669)

DUNINO - SCHOOLMASTERS

Mr James Richardsons

before 5/6/1643 (P.R.) & 2/9/1646 (St. Andrews Pres.)

"no settled maintenance"

6/8/1656 (Pres.)

Robert Rough

before 15/4/1658 (P.R.) - probably to 1669 (by hand in P.R.)

James Dick

N.S.A. quoting K.S. 1698 & 18/3/1719 (Pres.) - to 28/10/1721 by hand in P.R.)

Mr David Wilson

by 1722 ("for more than 26 years" Pres. 19/10/1748) in P.R. 28/11/1730 -
died 28/4/1767 (P.R. 30/4/1767)

Mr John Anderson

17/6/1768 (Pres.)

Mr Hay Reikie

20/12/1775 (Pres.) & 22/9/1782 (P.R.)

William West

by 2/10/1787 (see P.R. 21/10/1788) - to 31/12/1794 (P.R.)

James Robertson

before 18/8/1799 (P.R.) & after 3/1/1802 (P.R.)

George Cant

24/6/1805 (Pres.)

Mr William Tennant

20/10/1813 (Pres.) - to Lasswade 1816 (Conolly)

Mr David Tennant

5/2/1817 (Pres.) - to 29/3/1854 (Pres.)

Mr James Forrester (from Kingsmuir)

8/11/1854 as assistant (Heritors) - resigned August 1855

Mr Wauchope Paterson

1/9/1855 assistant & successor (Heritors) 1/9/1856 (Her.)

Mr Grant

1/9/1856 assistant (Heritors) - resigned - ill-health 26/8/1858 (Heritors)

Mr Thomas Simpson

25/9/1858 assistant (Heritors) parish teacher 30/10/1861 (Heritors) & in
15/3/1873 (Her.)

DYSART - SCHOOLMASTERS

Henry Strang
in 1579 (Muir, p.57)

Allane Lawmonth
first mention 16/4/1612 (P.R.) & mentioned 6/4/1625 (P.R.) & Muir, p.57

Mr James Allane
entered 29/5/1646 - demitted 11/11/1650 (D.B.R.)

Mr David Thomsone
entered 11/11/1650 - demitted 20/10/1651 (D.B.R.)

Mr William Cochran
first mention 19/4/1652 - demitted 7/3/1653 (D.B.R.)

Mr Andro Bryand (from Pittenweem)
entered 7/3/1653 - deposed (for assault on pupil) 28/7/1658 (D.B.R.)

Mr Hercules Sinclair
entered 6/12/1658 - demitted (to be Minister in Zetland) 8/6/1660 (D.B.R.)

Mr James Nicolson
entered 18/6/1660 - demitted 4/2/1661 (D.B.R.)

Mr John Turnbull
entered 15/4/1661 - discharged 15/2/1664 (D.B.R.)

Mr David Lawson
entered 8/7/1664 - demitted 16/1/1671 (D.B.R.) to Torryburn (Torryburn K.S.)

Mr William Hamilton
entered 8/5/1671 - left for Jedburgh 1682 (Muir)

John Ramsay
(Muir) 1682 (elected by K.S. - no magistrates) - died 1695

Mr Robert Williamson (from Elie)
entered 15/4/1695 (D.B.R.)

Mr Mungo Graham (from Kilrenny)
entered 10/11/1698

Mr Robert Gillies (from Cruden)
entered 14/11/1709 (D.B.R.) - died 3/1/1724 (P.R.)

Mr James Duncan
1724 (Muir) - resigns (forced) 12/3/1764 (D.B.R.)

Mr William Wilson (from Leven)
entered 13/4/1764 - died about March 1813 (D.B.R. 22/3/1813)

DYSART - SCHOOLMASTERS cont.

Mr James McLaren

entered 17/7/1813 - deposed by Presbytery 6/8/1825 (D.B.R.) went to
Kilconquhar.

Rev. William Muir (from Heriot's Hospital)

entered 10/10/1825 - resigned (to become minister of the Temple) w.e.f.
19/11/1839 (D.B.R.)

Mr James McDonald (from Cupar)

entered 29/11/1839 - resigned 6/10/1846 (D.B.R.) to Forfar

Mr William Bonthron (from Kilrenny 2/1/1846 - Kilrenny Heritors)

entered 1846 - still there in 1866 (Westwoods Directory)

DYSART - DOCTORS

John Gow

mentioned in 1619 (Muir, p.57) & in 1621, 1628 (Muir, pp.66, 69)
died March 1640 (Test. Com.St.A. Vol.9)

James Morris

1636 (Muir)

James Craig

1640 & 29/5/1646 & 1647 (D.B.R.) - a "Mr James Craig" in P.R. 23/7/1656

"a doctor"

D.B.R. 7/3/1653

no doctor from 28/11/1662 to 24/2/1663 (D.B.R.)

Mr Alex Swintoune

entered 24/2/1663 (D.B.R.)

Mr David Lawson

before 15/2/1664 (D.B.R.)

Mr Robert Law

by 15/4/1695, mentioned in Kirkcaldy Pres. 7/4/1696 - discharged

Mr Sam Clinton (from Kilmany)

21/10/1710 (P.R.) - will proved 27/11/1713

ELIE - SCHOOLMASTERS

Mr Alex Makduff
before 1604 (Reg.Gt.Seal, Vol.7,p.444)

Mr David Mitchell (Mitchell)
1639 (P.R.) - probably to 1660 (hand in P.R.)

Mr David Hendrie
18/5/1661 (P.R.) - to 20/1/1665 at least (P.R.)

Mr Robert Arnot
by 16/5/1668 (P.R.) & 23/11/1671 (Signature P.R.) probably to 1679 (hand)

Robert Williamson
- to Dysart 1695

Mr David Moor
9/9/1701 (St.Andrews Pres.) - "late" in 13/9/1732 (Pres.)

Mr Wilson
(reference in P.R. 4/2/1744)

Mr John Reid
about March 1747 & on 17/3/1759 (P.R.)

Mr Alex McConnachie
before 1768 (Cupar Pres. 26/1/1768)

Mr Mollison
- left for Kintyre 24/7/1773 (P.R.)

Mr Matthew Taylor
Mart. 1773 (P.R.) - died 20/4/1807 (P.R.)

Mr James Brown
5/8/1807 (Pres.) - resigned Mart. 1810 (P.R. 18/9/1810)

Mr Robert Kilgour
11/11/1810 (P.R.) - deposed 13/5/1844 (Pres.) joins Free Church 31/8/1843
(Pres.)

- Austin
before 12/2/1845 (Pres.)

Mr George Riddoch
1849 (see Heritors 18/5/1869) - died c.11/4/1869

Mr John Riddoch
17/6/1869 (Her.)

FALKLAND - SCHOOLMASTERS

- Mr David Balvaird
by 9/8/1611 (Synod)
- Mr Robert Kinloch
by 16/12/1643 (K.S.) - left for Cupar, Candlemas 1662 (K.S. in P.R. 4/12/1661)
- Mr William Wallace
appointed 15/6/1662 (K.S. in P.R.)
- Mr Robert Arnot
by Jan. 1672 (K.S. in P.R.) - d. by 8/1/1688 (P.R.)
- Mr Alexander Lowrie
entered 5/3/1688 (K.S. in P.R. 11/3/1688) & on 12/11/1691 (P.R.)
- Mr James Knox
by 6/7/1700 (Pres.) - demitted 22/5/1716 (Pres.)
- Mr John Bower
admitted 21/8/1716 (Pres.) & 8/3/1720 (Pres.) (A "John Bower" signed in P.R. 1744)
- Mr John Coldstream
admitted 5/1/1738 (Pres.) & on 4/3/1746 (Pres.)
- Mr William Stedman
by 8/6/1749 (P.R.) - left to become first Usher St. Andrews G.S. 7/3/1754 (ST. Andrews B.R.)
- Mr David Doig (from Kennoway)
admitted 24/6/1755 (Pres.) - left to become schoolmaster in Stirling, 1760
(History of Stirling Grammar School)
- Mr McDougal
admitted 20/1/1761 (Pres.) - left for Kirkcaldy (Kirkcaldy B.R. 9/8/1762)
- Mr McKenzie
by 18/11/1769 (K.S. in Her. Records) & in 28/1/1772 (K.S. in Her. Records)
- Mr John Niveson
admitted 30/4/1782 (Pres.) - left for Cupar G. School by 14/5/1795 (Her.)
- Mr Guy Gardener (from private school, Edinburgh)
appointed 8/7/1795 (Her.) - resigned 4/11/1802 (Her.)
- Mr Alexander Beaton (from Tynninghame)
appointed 6/1/1803 (Her.) - left for Kinghorn School 10/1/1806 (Her.)
- Mr James Lockhart Brown (from Haddington)
elected 14/2/1806 (Her.) - resigned 12/12/1811 (Her.)
- Mr William Graham (from Grief)
elected 17/1/1812 (Her.) - left for Forfar 16/3/1813 (Her.)
- Mr Robert Burton (from Portobello)
elected 9/4/1813 (Her.) - d. by 14/10/1836 (Her.)
- Mr David H. Buist (from Perth)
elected 14/12/1836 (Her.) - d. 26/2/1840 (Her.)
- Mr William Tasker (from Tealing)
elected 1/6/1840 (Her.) - resigned 14/12/1843 (joined Free Church) (Her.)
- Mr James Dunn (from Old Kilpatrick)
elected 20/2/1844 (Her.) - deposed 1/6/1844 (Her.)
- Interim - Mr Raeburn
appointed 22/7/1844 (Her.) to 2/2/1846
- Mr John Cruickshank (from Abernethy)
appointed 12/2/1846 (Her.) still there in 1870 (Her.)

FALKLAND - DOCTORS

Mr John Berwick
before 16/12/1649 (1)

John Forbes
appointed 16/12/1649 (K.S.) (2) & 1667 (3)

Mr John Piper
appointed 30/11/1673 (K.S.) (4) - left 1/3/1674 (5)

Mr Robert Lindsay
appointed 12/7/1674 (6)

James Adam
by 5/9/1675 (7)

Mr Henry Stephenson
- left for Kennoway 15/12/1695 (Kennoway K.S.)

Mr George Alexander
by 6/7/1700 (Pres.)

1. John Downie, "Early Home of Richard Cameron" (Paisley, 1901) p.8
2. Ibid p.8 3. (K.S. in P.R.) 4. John Downie, op.cit. p.10.
5. Ibid. 6. Ibid. 7. Ibid.

Piper, Lindsay, and Adam were appointed as Precentors. It is to be presumed
they, like Forbes, were also School Doctors.)

FERRY PORT-ON-CRAIG (TAYPORT) - SCHOOLMASTERS

Before 1640 schools had been established and decayed
(K.S. 3/11/1644)

Mr William Mills (from Collessie)

appointed 16/6/1653 (K.S.) - departed about May, 1656

"a schoolmaster" in 23/3/1656 (K.S.) - but none in 19/6/1656 (K.S.)

Mr Arthur Millar

entered 14/8/1656 (K.S.) - demitted 16/8/1657 (K.S.)

Johnne Frisla

entered 29/7/1658 (K.S.)

David Buthell

entered 2/6/1659 (K.S.)

Mr Arthur Miller

by 9/1/1663 (K.S.) - to Crail 1664 (Crail K.S.)

Schoolmaster (or masters) from 2/4/1666 to 23/12/1673 (K.S.)

regular payments for poor scholars and housemail

Mr John Kid

entered 26/7/1674 (K.S. in P.R.) - "late" in 6/8/1676 (K.S. in P.R.)

Mr Thomas Phenison

entered 17/9/1676 (K.S. in P.R.) - demitted 15/6/1678 (K.S. in P.R.)

Mr John Kid

14/7/1678 (K.S. in P.R.) - deposed 20/2/1698 (K.S. in P.R.)

Mr Alex Anderson

entered 24/4/1698 (K.S. in P.R.) - to Leuchars 6/11/1700 (St. Andrews Pres.)

Mr Archibald Glidsdale

there in 23/6/1708 (Pres.) - to Forgan 4/5/1709 (Pres.)

Mr Watson

1710 (K.S.) - died after July 1728 (K.S.)

Mr James Stewart

entered 23/5/1728 (K.S.) - removes before 23/5/1731 (K.S.)

A gap between (see K.S. 23/1/1732)

Mr Samuel Moubray (Mowbray)

entered 23/5/1731 (K.S.) - to Whit 1756, died by 18/4/1756 (K.S.)

Mr David Marshall (from St. Monance)

entered 29/7/1756 (K.S.) - died 8/9/1780 (K.S.)

Mr George Walker (private teacher, Dundee)

entered 27/11/1780 (K.S.) - died c. October, 1821 (K.S. 25/10/1821)

Mr Charles Ramsay

by 25/10/1821 (K.S.) & in Pres. 27/11/1845

Mr James Morrison

entered Feb. 1852 (Gen. Assembly Reports) - to Biggar 14/12/1856 (K.S.)

Mr Robert Scott

4/2/1857 (K.S. & Pres.) - died 14/2/1873 (headstone)

FORGAN - SCHOOLMASTERS

Mr Samuel Cunningham

by 25/1/1599 (St.Andrews Pres.) - became Minister of Ferry Port, 20/1/1615
(Fasti)

"A schoolmaster"

30/8/1665 (Pres.)

Mr James Hill

by 9/12/1674 (Pres.) - ordered to leave, refused Archbishop's licence 7/4/1675

"A schoolmaster"

1696 (K.S.)

Mr Grieve

20/2/1698 (K.S.) & probably from 1696 (by hand in K.S.)

? David Murdo

by 26/11/1701 (K.S.)

"No fixed school" (Pres. 9/7/1707)

Mr Archibald Clidsdail (from Ferry)

30/5/1709 (K.S.) - to Dundee, Whit 1716 (K.S. 18/6/1716)

Mr David Stark (from Edinburgh)

entered 16/6/1716 (K.S.)

Mr John Moncrieff (from Kinnoul)

16/10/1717 (Pres.) - to Dunbog 9/11/1729

Mr Henry Dempster

entered 6/1/1730 (K.S.) - resigned Whit 1739 (K.S. 20/7/1739)

Mr Thomas Glass

27/7/1739 (K.S.) - died by 6/1/1771 (K.S.)

Mr John Gordon

23/7/1771 (K.S.) - resigns by 9/12/1772 (K.S.)

Mr George Hutton

by 9/12/1772 (K.S.) - died by 18/3/1778 (K.S.)

Mr Will Innes

by 18/3/1778 - died by 8/12/1823 (K.S.)

Mr Patrick Kinnear

by 8/12/1823 - died by 18/5/1834 (K.S.)

Mr Henry Smith

18/5/1834 (K.S.) - to Seecnie 16/12/1843 (K.S.)

Mr Matthew Smith

16/12/1843 (K.S.) - resigns 31/3/1856 (Heritors)

Mr James Spence Smith

31/3/1856 assistant (Heritors) - resigns 29/7/1858 (Her.)

Mr William Jamie (from Leuchars)

29/7/1858 (Heritors) - resigns 17/8/1871 (Her.)

Mr Andrew Scott

30/9/1871 (Heritors) - died between 17/11/1894 & 25/5/1895 (Heritors)

KEMBACK - SCHOOLMASTERS

"A schoolmaster"

by 7/9/1664 (St. Andrews Pres.)

"Schoolmaster dismissed" (refused bishop's licence)

30/1/1666 (Pres.)

Mr Andre Buttercase

by 18/3/1675 (Pres.) refused to take licence 17/11/1675 (Pres.) but mentioned as schoolmaster on 13/9/1686 (Pres.)

Mr William Petrie

by 1689 (see Pres. 13/7/1698) - to Leuchars before 16/2/1698 (Pres.)

John Anderson

entered 22/9/1703 (Pres.)

Mr Robert Mitchel

entered 24/1/1711 (Pres.)

Mr Andrew Reid

entered 18/11/1713 (Pres.)

James Wedderspoon

by 1/9/1743 (Dairsie K.S.) & 29/3/1749 (Pres.) & 27/8/1757 (P.R.)

Alexander Fyfe

about 1762 (O.S.A. Kemback) 18/10/1785 (P.R.) & various dates to 1/12/1792
- resigned on pension 1792 (O.S.A.)

Mr Smith Kinmonth

before 8/12/1802 (Pres.) - deposed 7/2/1827 Pres.

William Nicolson

after 1820 (Fasti)

Mr Grant Gray

- insane 3/12/1834 (Pres.) died by 3/1/1851 (Heritors)

(Interim teachers)

Mr Ramsay

- died July 1848 (Pres.)

Mr James Douglas

appointed 17/8/1843 (Heritors) - to May 1849 (Heritors)

Mr James Trotter (interim for 18 months)

appointed 29/6/1849 (Heritors)

Mr David Dandie (from Montrose)

appointed 12/2/1851 (Heritors) & in 1866 (Westwoods Directory)

KIRKCALDY - SCHOOLMASTERS

- Mr James Dewar
certainly from June 1640; probably from 26/9/1638 (P.R.) - demitted 2/11/1647 (K.S.)
- Mr Marie Page
admitted 19/4/1648 (Kirkcaldy Pres.)
- John Lamonth
admitted 22/5/1650 (Pres.) & on 30/6/1650 (K.S. in P.R.)
- Mr James Sibbald
24/11/1650 (K.S. in P.R.) - died 29/12/1657 (K.S.)
- Mr Thomas Phenistone
appointed 17/6/1658 (K.S.)
- Mr John Heggie
appointed 9/8/1663 (K.S.)
- Mr Thomas Phenistone
re-admitted 13/7/1665 (K.S.)
- A schoolmaster from 1666 to 1675 (name not known but probably Phenistone)
(Payments in K.S. Cash Book)
- Mr William Mill
"sometime schoolmaster here" died about 28/8/1704 (K.S.)
- Mr Andrew Watson
- deserted by 5/2/1691 (Pres.)
- Mr Thomas Russell (from Kettle)
appointed 5/3/1691 (Pres.) - resigned 2/7/1693 w.e.f. Lammes (K.S.)
(to Portmouk) 24/10/1695 (Pres.)
- Mr Robert Wilson
appointed 8/10/1693 (K.S.) - deserted 15/1/1695 (K.S.)
- Mr Henry Stephenson (school doctor in Falkland)
appointed 15/12/1695 (K.S.) - died between 4/6/1701 & 18/6/1701 (K.S.)
- Mr Alexander Schaw
appointed before 19/10/1701 (K.S.) - removed to Kinghorn between 17/11/1717 & 8/12/1717 (K.S.)
- Mr David Littlejohn
appointed 8/12/1717 (K.S.) - removed at Whit 1722 (K.S. 28/7/1722)
- Mr Archibald Glidsdale (from Longforgan)
by 28/7/1722 (K.S.) - demitted 25/5/1748 (K.S.)
- Mr Charles Hay
appointed 25/5/1748 (K.S.) - "to leave the bounds" 29/8/1751 (Pres.)
- Mr David Doig
from Whit 1752 (K.S. 31/3/1752) - removed to Falkland 17/3/1755 (K.S.) &
(J.Malcolm, "Parish of Monifieth", p.361)
- Mr Thomas Peat
appointed 15/5/1755 (Pres.) - deserted 11/12/1771 (K.S. 1/3/1772)
- Mr Robert Barton (from Bendeachie)
tried by Pres. 13/5/1772 - died before 8/11/1774 (K.S.)
- Mr Archibald Singer
by 8/11/1774 (K.S.)
- Mr James Christie
by 14/6/1775 (K.S.) - left for Dunfermline 10/7/1776 (Dunfermline B.R.)
- Mr John Sandiman
by 3/11/1776 (K.S.)

KENNOWAY - SCHOOLMASTERS cont.

Mr David Tod

by 16/6/1778 (K.S.) - dismissed 7/9/1791 (Pres.)

Mr Craik

by 31/12/1793 (K.S.) - removed 7/10/1803 (Heritors)

Mr Watson

appointed 23/10/1803 (K.S.) - left June 1805 (K.S. 16/6/1805)

Mr William Craik

by 24/2/1806 (K.S.) - deceased by Feb. 1830 (Her. 9/8/1830)

Mr Cockburn (interim teacher)

from Whit 1830 (Her. 9/8/1830)

Mr William Beatten (Bethune)

elected 9/8/1830 (Her.) - resigned 26/3/1843 (K.S.)

Mr Andrew Craig

elected 16/8/1843 (Her.) - removed to Greenlaw between 30/5/1849 &
13/6/1849 (Her.)

Mr James Forrester

appointed 31/8/1841 (Her.) there in 9/2/1873 (Her.) - resigned as Heritors' Clerk 6/11/1904 (Her.)

KETTLE - SCHOOLMASTERS

School repaired from penalties - 29/10/1641 (P.R.)

David Ramsay

entered 31/5/1646 (P.R.) & in 1658

Mr Thomas Russell

by 1682 (P.R. title page) - to Kennoway 25/3/1691 (Kirkcaldy Pres.)

Mr Robert Gre(i)g

entered 3/1/1697 (P.R.) - demitted 8/3/1702 (Synod)

Mr William Thomson

- to Pittenweem (Pittenweem B.R. 28/6/1704)

Robert Peirson

by 1705 (P.R.) & in 24/8/1726 (P.R.)

Mr Robert Pearson (from Newburgh)

entered 4/11/1729 (Pres. Supar)

? Mr Thomas Duncan

?? on 17/9/1730 (Pres.)

Mr Thomas Peirson

by 11/10/1739 (P.R.) & various dates to 1/11/1745 (P.R.) by hand to 1748

Mr Walter Manuel

before 6/12/1775 (P.R.) by hand from 1758 (P.R.) & in 13/11/1781 (P.R.)
by hand to 1748

Mr John Elton

by 19/2/1799 (P.R.) - demitted 2/7/1804 (Pres. 4/9/1804)

Mr Alexander Robertson (from Arngask)

admitted 21/9/1804 (Pres.)

- Peterkin

by 4/6/1807 (P.R.) - to 30/4/1825 at least (P.R.)

Robert Lyon

by 29/7/1841 (Merkinch Heritors 29/7/1841)

John Williamson

by 1847 (E.I.S.) - died 14/10/1865 (E.I.S.)

Alexander Keddie

1866 (Westwoods Directory); there in 1870 (E.I.S.)

KILCONQUHAR - SCHOOLMASTERS

Sir George Calland

before 1593 (Index of Tests., Comm.St.Andrews 1/2/1593/4)

Mr David Mitchell

1637 & there in 3/6/1640 (P.R.)

D. Anderson

1640

Charles Smart

by 14/10/1645 (P.R.) & on 15/10/1665 (P.R.)

Alexander Houston

1673 & mentioned St.Andrews Pres. 21/5/1701; & ref. to him "last settled schoolmaster" 1/8/1716 (Pres.)

Colin Bennet

1716

Mr William Beat

1730 & mentioned 1/3/1732 (Pres.) taken on "trials" 1/3/1739 Pres.
by hand to 14/9/1746 (P.R.)

Mr Alexander Bayne

1748 & mentioned 25/3/1747 (Pres.) & on 7/5/1759 (Pres.)

Mr James Wilkie

4/9/1776 (Pres.) & on 21/3/1793 (P.R.)

Mr James Edie

8/4/1812 (Pres.)

Mr John Smith

27/2/1816 (Pres.)

Robert Mitchell

1824

James McLaurin

1825

Peter Proudfoot

11/10/1854 (Pres.) & 1866 (Westwoods Directory) - to Leuchars on 15/8/1868
(Leuchars Her. 17/4/1868)

Thomas Sime

1868

(References, except where stated, to R.Dick, "Annals of Colinsburgh",
(Edinburgh) 1896)

KILMANY - SCHOOLMASTERS

"No maintenance as yet" 11/3/1647 (Cupar Pres.)

"Heritors agree to maintenance of school" 27/1/1659 (Pres.)

Alex Spence

by 29/4/1701 (Pres.)

Mr Samuel Clinton

admitted 24/1/1710 (Pres.) & 21/10/1721 (Dysart B.R.)

Mr Patrick Craig

by 13/11/1711 (Pres.)

Mr James Smyth

admitted 24/5/1715 (Pres.) - "leaving in a short time" (Pres. 18/11/1718)

James Walker

by 14/8/1722 (Pres.)

Mr James Mitchel (from Methven)

admitted 1/6/1731 (Pres.)

Alexander Lees

by 19/1/1774 (Large P.R.); by 2/7/1793 (Pres.) & in 7/5/1799 (Pres.)

Mr William McGillivray

by 9/8/1839 (Heritors) - resigned 13/10/1866 (Her.) died 3/2/1869

Mr John Geddes (from Free Church School, Inch)

17/11/1866 (Her.) & in 1873

LOGIE - SCHOOLMASTERS

"No school for the present" (Cupar Pres. 16/5/1650)

James Burn

by 28/8/1651 (Pres.) & in 10/9/1661 (K.S. in P.R.)

Mr Andrew Anderson

admitted 10/9/1666 (K.S.)

Mr David Litser

admitted 16/7/1676 & 19/7/1703 & 18/8/1710 (see Pres. 28/8/1710)

"Schoolmaster had left the place" - rebellion. 24/4/1716

Thomas Dowie

in 1718 (Forgar Distributions K.S.II, p.80)

Samuel Morison

admitted 8/6/1754 (Pres.)

David Fenton

by 30/10/1786 (P.R.); by 31/3/1789 (Pres.) & on 10/11/1790 (P.R.)

John Rintoul

by 21/1/1793 (from 9/1/1792 by hand P.R.) & in 23/5/1808 (P.R.)

S. Lyall

by July 1846 (Heritors) & after 1872 (Her.)

KILRENNY - SCHOOLMASTERS

"is not, & never has been, a school"

5/5/1647 (St. Andrews Pres.)

Mr Robert Rough

before May 1649 (P.R. 27/5/1649)

Mr Harie Page

27/5/1649 (P.R.) & suspended & reponed 4/10/1649 (Pres.) & in 11/5/1651 (P.R.)

"schoolmaster admonished by K.S."

1/2/1677 (K.S.)

"a schoolmaster" - claims £100 p.a. from Box

16/8/1677 (Pres.)

(A "Mr Henrie Fadge" (no location) signs Test, Dec. 1681) (Pres.)

"A schoolmaster"

in 1688 (K.S. in P.R. 9/3/1689)

Housemeall paid 1689 (P.R.) & to Dec. 1696

Mr Mungo Graham

- to Dysart 1698 (Dysart B.R. 16/11/1698)

Mr Robert Wilson (from Rattray)

entered 28/6/1699 (Pres.) - deposed for activities in rebellion 18/7/1716
(Pres.)

Mr John Webster

19/11/1716 (K.S.) - died between 26/2/1750 & 26/3/1750 (K.S.)

Magnus Fenton

elected 4/4/1750 (K.S.) & 13/6/1750 (Pres.) - died by 10/10/1782 (Heritors)

Mr James Lowie (from Dairsie)

1/11/1782 (Heritors) - resigned 7/5/1788 (Pres.)

Mr Peter Davidson

entered 19/6/1788 (Heritors) - resigned by 11/10/1790 (Heritors)

Mr John Orphat (from Kilspindie)

11/11/1790 (Heritors) schoolmaster; land measurer (Pres. 7/3/1799) - resigned
20/9/1838 (Heritors)

Mr Walter Brodie (from Anstruther Easter)

25/10/1838 (Heritors) - resigned 24/12/1838 (Heritors)

Mr William Bonthron (from Bearhills)

28/3/1839 (Heritors) - to Dysart on 20/12/1845 (Heritors 2/1/1846)

Mr James Fleming

20/2/1846 (Heritors) - deprived 10/5/1862 (Heritors)

Mr Dalrymple

11/7/1863 (Heritors) - to after 1873 (Heritors)

KINGHORN - SCHOOLMASTERS

School in 1575 & 1581
(Common Good, Kinghorn)

Mr Thomas Bigger
by 21/7/1605 (P.R.) see also Extracts, p.8 - died 1/1/1641 (P.R.)

Mr Will. Bett
admitted 12/4/1641 (P.R.) - to 1672 (P.R.)

Mr Walter Jack
admitted Whit 1683 (P.R.) - deposed (Marr's Rebellion) 10/7/1717
(Kirkcaldy Pres.)

Mr Schaw (from Kennoway)
10/12/1717 (K.S.) - died by 15/6/1736 (K.S.)

Mr Bruce
15/6/1736 (K.S.) see also 15/9/1739 (K.S.) - demitted 15/9/1739 (K.S.)

Mr John Orrcock
16/9/1739 (K.S.) 'ad vitam' (Grant) - demitted 20/12/1762 (B.R.)

Mr Robert Garrow (from West Duddingston)
appointed 21/3/1763 (B.R.) - died by 15/10/1770 (B.R.)

Mr James Hunter
appointed 30/10/1770 (& Kirkcaldy Pres.) - demitted 29/7/1771 (B.R.)

Mr Maurice Ritchie
appointed 23/9/1771 (B.R.) & Kirkcaldy Pres. 7/10/1771 & 17/12/1794 (K.S.)
- died by 10/11/1805

Mr Alex Beatten (from Falkland)
by 29/1/1806 (K.S.) & on 6/8/1829 (Heritors)

Mr John Davidson
appointed 1830 (Her. 22/6/1842) - resigned 2/2/1844 (Her. 27/2/1844)

James Currie
by 1847 (E.I.S.)

KINGHORN - DOCTORS

William Wells

by 1628 (Common Good, Kinghorn)

Mr John Gray

by 26/4/1716 (Kirkcaldy Pres.) & 3/2/1717 (K.S.)

"a doctor"

1718 (K.S.)

Mr Alex Leach

2/7/1723 (Beath K.S.) - died just before 22/10/1724 (Cash Book)

doctor's salary given to schoolmaster Mart. 1724 to Mart. 1729
(see K.S. passim to 17/11/1730)

Mr Henry Dewar

by 22/2/1732 (K.S.) probably for previous year & 20/2/1733 (K.S.)

"a doctor dismissed 1736" (Grant)

Mr John Orrock

15/6/1736 (K.S.) became schoolmaster 16/9/1739 (K.S.)

Alex McFarlane

by 22/2/1744 (K.S.) - removed 1746 (Rebel) (Ballingall)

Johnathan Thomson

17/6/1747 (K.S.)

"a doctor"

6/3/1753 (K.S.)

Mr Turnbull

24/12/1759 (B.R.)

Mr William Allen

by 5/11/1764 (B.R.) - dismissed w.e.f. 1st May 16/2/1767 (B.R.)

Mr James Hunter

elected 20/4/1767 (B.R.) - became schoolmaster 15/10/1770 (B.R.)

Mr James Izat

29/7/1771 (B.R.) appointed teacher of poor scholars by Kirk Session, not
in burgh school.

"no doctor"

11/11/1776 (B.R.)

KINGGLASSIE - SCHOOLMASTERS

"a schoolmaster" 28/7/1636 (Kirkcaldy Pres.)

"a schoolmaster, no school or schoolhouse" 26/3/1640 (Pres.)

Mr John Bellie

by 11/12/1650 (P.R.) - probably to 1660 (by hand in P.R.)

Mr John Eytowne

by 7/3/1680 (P.R.) & in 28/8/1681 (P.R.)

Mr William Abernethie

15/9/1682 (P.R.) - to June 1695 (Pres.)

Mr David Cargill

appointed 24/10/1695 (Pres.)

Mr John Coupar

20/11/1701 (Pres.) - to 1703

Mr Alexander Smart

23/6/1703 (Pres)

"a schoolmaster" 10/11/1709 (Pres.)

Mr Patrick Cockburn

by 12/4/1722 (P.R.) probably from 1715 (hand in Register) - deposed 13/10/1743
reposed 11/6/1747 (Pres.) (will proved 23/12/1751) (Pres)

Mr David Barclay (from Kinnaird)

before 19/8/1756 (Pres.) & 4/10/1778 (P.R.)

Mr David Balmain

before 14/7/1785 (Heritors) student of Divinity - "lately resigned"
9/12/1790 (Heritors)

Mr Roger Hutton

9/12/1790 (Her.) - to Oct. 1794 (Her.)

Mr David Ballingall (from Watson's Hospital)

15/10/1794 (Her.) - to July 1795 (Her.)

Mr John Craik

4/8/1795 (Her.)

Mr Wallace

30/5/1798 (Her.) & on 10/6/1799 (Her.)

Mr James Ready (from Portmoak)

5/12/1800 - retired 23/9/1830 (Her.)

Mr John Brown

(interim) May 1835; elected 19/1/1838 (Her.) & in 1873

KINGSBARN - SCHOOLMASTERS

"Glass windows to school etc."

K.S. 31/3/1639 & refs. to school on 24/3/1645 & 28/2/1647 (K.S.)

Mr Jhone Murray (?)

entered 25/11/1652 (K.S. in P.R.)

"exhorted to get schoolmaster & clerk" - St.Andrews Pres. 11/3/1657

"schoolmaster had his leave of the Session" 28/4/1658 (P.R.)

Mr Robert Knox (?)

entered 28/4/1658 (P.R.)

Mr Andre Clerck

"who once did teach the school in the parish" 25/7/1665

Mr Thomas Watson

"admitted at Whit" 2/11/1663 (K.S.) mentioned 9/1/1676 - died not long before
11/4/1680 (K.S.) see 20/6/1680 (K.S.)

Mr John Prophet

entered "on trial" 5/9/1682 (Pres.)

"John Miller schoolmaster"

by hand after 29/10/1684 (K.S.) by 17/11/1684 & on 21/3/1687 (P.R.) - probably
to 3/12/1688 (by hand)

David Liddell (from Monifieth (1))

by hand 21/11/1688 (P.R.); by 17/12/1688 (P.R.) - died 19/5/1713 (K.S. 22/6/1713)

John Liddell (son of last, from Crail)

6/7/1713 (K.S.) - to 12/6/1759 (K.S.)

James Thomson (from Dumbog School)

20/11/1760 (K.S.) - died Nov. 1804 (K.S. 19/12/1804)

Mr Robert Stewart

by 15/5/1805 (K.S.) - resigned by 7/4/1813 (Pres.)

Mr Alexander Latta (Latta)

by 8/6/1813 (K.S.) & 4/8/1813 (Pres.) - resigned as Session Clk. 9/11/1857 (K.S.)

Mr Robert Maughan

9/11/1857 (K.S.) to 1870 (and after)

Assistant schoolmasters:

Mr Donaldson 26/10/1795 & 12/9/1797 (K.S.)

Mr Cant; Mart, 1799 & 2/4/1805 (K.S.)

Mrs. Campbell, 17/7/1804 (K.S.)

KIRKCALDY - SCHOOLMASTERS

- Rev. Mr David Spens
10/7/1582 (B.R.) - 1584 (B.R.)
- Mr Johne Michelstoun
3/5/1585 (B.R.) & on 17/11/1588 for 3 years. (B.R.)
- Mr Thomas Powter
appointed w.e.f. Martinmas 29/10/1591 (B.R.)
- Mr Henry Bavarage
by 25/2/1596 (Macbean)
- Mr Thomas Melville
by 22/8/1618 (Reg.Gt.Seal, Vol.8)
- Mr John Row (from Stirling)
appointed 2/11/1619 (K.S.)
- Mr John Malcolm
admitted 30/12/1630 (Pres.) - demitted 23/11/1674 (B.R.)
- Mr Alex Skairs (from Crail)
appointed 23/11/1674 (B.R.) - demitted 12/10/1680 (B.R.)
- Mr William Jackson
appointed 8/11/1680 (B.R.) - d. by 18/8/1707 (B.R.)
- Mr John Durward
appointed 22/9/1707 (B.R.) - demitted 9/9/1723 (B.R.)
- Mr David Miller (from Cupar G.S.)
appointed 23/3/1724 - d. May/June, 1751 (B.R. 10/6/1751)
- Mr John Murray
elected 31/7/1751 (B.R.) - left for Cupar 7/7/1762 (Cupar B.R.)
- Mr John Dougall (from Falkland)
appointed 9/8/1762 (B.R.) - resigned 21/3/1787 (B.R.)
- Mr John Hume
by June, 1788 (B.R.) - resigned 29/12/1815 (B.R.)
- Mr Thomas Carlyle
appointed 16/9/1816 (B.R.) - demitted 1818 (Burgh Schools Report)
- Mr John Kennedy
appointed 1818 (Burgh Schools Report) - demitted 1840 (Burgh Schools Report)
- Mr John Lockhart
appointed 2/9/1840 (Macbean) - demitted 2/11/1874 ("Kirkcaldy Burgh & Schyre"
ed. J. Campbell)

KIRKCALDY - DOCTORS

Mr James Miller
appointed 23/4/1616 (K.S.) & in 1/3/1627 (K.S.)
John Buchan
by 6/9/1665 (K.S.)
Mr William Meiklejohn
appointed 5/2/1656 (B.R.) - demitted Mart. 1673 (B.R.) 22/9/1673)
Mr Walter Denestoune
appointed w.e.f. Mart. 1673 (B.R. 22/9/1673) - demitted 26/2/1677 (B.R.)
? Mr Andrew Bruce (Session Clerk & Precentor)
13/3/1677 (K.S.)
Mr William Jackson
appointed 6/5/1678 (B.R.) - demitted 8/11/1680 (B.R.)
Mr John Henderson
appointed 15/11/1680 (B.R.) - gone by 19/2/1683 (B.R.)
Mr David Cargill
probably by 19/8/1687 (P.R.) & in 5/5/1691 (K.S.)
Mr William Johnstone
by 18/8/1707 (B.R.) - d. by 23/7/1723 (B.R.)
Mr John Durward (ex-schoolmaster, Kirkcaldy)
appointed 9/9/1723 (B.R.) - demitted 1/11/1742 (B.R.)
Mr George Paterson
appointed w.e.f. Candlemas, 1743 (B.R. 27/12/1742) - dismissed 15/2/1748 (B.R.)
Mr John Hay
elected 30/5/1748 (B.R.) & on 5/12/1759 (Pres.)
John Dougall (son of schoolmaster)
appointed 20/11/1775 (B.R.) -

Vacancy on 7/10/1778 (B.R.)

John Law
on 22/1/1781 (B.R.)
Robert Robertson
on 15/12/1783 (B.R.) - resigned 17/4/1786 (B.R.)
Mr Malcolm Bowden (from Fossoway and Tullibole)
elected 14/9/1790 (B.R.) - left for Stirling 29/8/1791 (B.R.)
Mr John Forbes
elected 15/9/1791 (B.R.)
Mr Melville
appointed 1818 (Burgh Schools Report) - retired 1840 (Burgh Schools Report)
Mr Logan
by 2/2/1840 (Abdie Her.)

LARGO - SCHOOLMASTERS

Mr Thomas Wilson
admitted 13/11/1636 (K.S.in P.R.) - deposed for swearing 5/7/1653 (Pres.)
but reposed: - died 4/10/1670 (Lamont)

Mr John Heggie (from Forfar)
Mart. 1670 (Lamont); by 8/4/1671 (K.S. in P.R.); & in 6/3/1689 (K.S.)

Mr Patrick Wyly (Weilly)
by 9/5/1694 (Pres.) (see also Newburn P.R. 4/5/1696)

Mr Robert Low
entered 1/4/1700 (Pres.) & in 19/5/1702 (Pres.)

Mr Thomas Kettle
entered 5/5/1708 (Pres.) & in 24/2/1740 (P.R.) to 1754 (by hand)

Mr Thomas Peirson
by 20/4/1771 (P.R.) & in 8/8/1773 (P.R.)

Mr James Black
by 11/3/1796 (P.R.) - died 8/5/1843 (P.R.)

Andrew Greig
by 1866 (Westwoods Directory)

LEUCHARS - SCHOOLMASTERS

Mr Andre Blane
by 15/11/1593 (St.Andrews Pres.)

Mr Thomas Litster
by 28/11/1660 (Pres.) & on 14/12/1662 (Pres.)

Mr Alex Cowper (took Test 14/12/1681 Pres.)
before 7/2/1686 (Pres.) reposed 5/5/1686 (Pres.) - "late" on 14/2/1694 (Pres.)

Mr William Petrie (from Kemback)
by 16/2/1698 (Pres.) - dismissed 26/6/1700 (Pres.)

Mr Alexander Anderson (from Ferry)
6/11/1700 (Pres.) - deposed 15/8/1714 (Pres. 5/1/1715)

Mr Robert Blau
18/5/1715 (Pres.) & on 4/7/1726 (Pres.)

Mr Laurence Adamson
admitted 26/3/1730 (Pres.) & in 24/4/1734 (Pres.)

Mr Robert Carstairs (from St.Andrews - doctor)
admitted 12/12/1744 (Pres.) - "late" in 10/12/1760 (Pres.)

Mr William Campbell
10/12/1760 (Pres.)

Benjamin Kerr
26/7/1775 (Pres.)

Mr Lamb
by 30/3/1810 (Heritors) - "late" in 1/3/1825 (Heritors)

Rev. Mr Alexander Grant
1/3/1825 (Heritors) - died 26/11/1858 (Heritors)

Mr Robert Graham
29/3/1859 (Heritors) - absconded 8/11/1867 (Heritors)

Mr William Robb (Interim)
2/12/1867 (Heritors) - demitted 15/8/1868 (Heritors 17/4/1868)

Mr Peter Proudfoot (from Kilconquhar)
appointed 17/4/1868 (w.e.f. 15/8/1868) & in 1873

LESLIE - SCHOOLMASTERS

Thomas McLanan (MacLechallan)

"sometime schoolmaster" (Markinch K.S. 17/9/1754)

Mr George Leslie

9/9/1649 (Pres.Kirkcaldy)

Mr William Myles (Fasti, "Flisk")

about 1651

Mr Thomas Barrie

before 29/8/1697 - left for Beath (Beath K.S. 23/10/1698)

Mr Alexander Cowan

by 23/2/1701 (P.R.) & in 23/11/1704 (Pres.)

Mr John Row

by 5/11/1705 (Pres.)

Mr McGarroch

by 8/8/1717 (Pres.) signed Confession of Faith 30/6/1720 (Pres.)

Mr George Alexander (from Portmoak)

by 23/2/1721 (Pres.)

Mr George Gib

22/1/1730 (Pres.) entered on "trials" 26/6/1735 (Pres.)

Mr Neil Bethune

by 12/12/1744 (St.Andrews Pres.)

Mr William Steedman

15/1/1747 (Pres.)

Mr George Paterson

22/9/1748 (Pres.)

Mr David Ireland

- resigned 2/2/1838 (Heritors)

Mr William Taylor Marshall

1/6/1838 (Heritors) - died March 1848

James Simson

4/5/1848 (Heritors) & on 3/5/1872

MARKINCH - SCHOOLMASTERS

- Mr George Duddingston
by 29/10/1628 (Kirkcaldy B.R.) probably by 23/7/1626 to Jan. 1640 (hand in P.R.)
- Mr David Balcanquhall
admitted 12/4/1640 (K.S.) - discharged 10/4/1642 (K.S.)
- Mr George Robertson
tried by Pres. 11/5/1642 - resigned 20/3/1643 (K.S.)
- Mr William Ballingall
by 19/5/1647 (P.R.) probably from 1643 (hand in P.R.) - to 1663 (entry in P.R. 28/9/1663)
- Mr John Turnbull
24/4/1664 (P.R.) & in 27/12/1675 (P.R.)
- Mr George Ramsay
by 23/4/1687 (Kettle P.R.) - demitted 31/12/1719 (Pres. Kirkcaldy)
- Mr Hugh Glass
by 22/3/1724 (P.R.) "licensed" 28/11/1728 (Pres.)
- Mr William Christie
2/12/1731 (Pres.)
- Mr Andrew Cowper
29/5/1735 (Pres.) to c.1778 (P.R. note)
- James Grieve
- died 1786 (P.R. note)
- Robert Clunie
one month only (P.R. note)
- Mr John Ritchie (from Coupar Angus)
19/12/1787 (Pres. & P.R.) - resigned 1794 (P.R.)
- Mr Andrew Thomson
from Nov. 1794 (K.S. 2/11/1798) - resigned by 13/10/1798 (K.S.)
- Mr Andrew McDonald
18/10/1798 (K.S.) - resigned 28/2/1834 (K.S.)
- Mr Duncan Stewart (from Bathgate)
1/5/1834 (K.S.) w.e.f. Whit - resigned 10/5/1844 (K.S.)
- Mr William Fyfe Haxton
4/9/1844 - still there 1872

MONIMAIL - SCHOOLMASTERS

Mortification of 1,000 Marks to school

21/11/1632 (K.S.) (quoted Heritors Records, 20/1/1824)

Patrick Andersons

admitted 2/9/1647 (Cupar Pres.)

Alexander Jamesone

by 6/6/1650

Mr Andre Aittone

? by 3/10/1658 (P.R.) (not specifically stated schoolmaster but given 12s)

Mr James Sibbald

by May 1659 (K.S. in P.R.) & on 10/6/1660 (K.S.)

James Fairfull

by 1663 (see K.S. 20/5/1667 & 6/11/1668) - to 6/7/1682 (K.S. in P.R.)

Vacancy 1682 - 1685

Mr John Dewar

entered 8/11/1685 (K.S. in P.R.) - to Scoonie 26/5/1689 (Scoonie K.S.)

William Tennant

by 29/3/1694 (Falkland K.S.) & after 28/11/1693 (Pres.)

Mr John Harper (from Linlithgow)

by 21/10/1697 (P.R.) in 13/12/1707 (K.S.) by hand to 1725 (P.R.)

Mr George Thomson (from Canongate)

admitted 16/3/1725 (Pres.) & in 24/2/1747 (Pres.) to 1752 by hand P.R.

Mr William Crombie

by May 1753 (P.R.)

Mr Christy

12/7/1772 (Pres.) - to 20/5/1775 (see Pres. 2/4/1776)

John Scott

by 2/4/1776 (Pres.)

Mr John Scott

admitted 25/7/1786 (Pres.) & in 12/2/1805

Mr James Wilson

23/9/1814 (Heritors) - demitted 5/9/1818 (Her.)

Mr Alex Esplin

20/11/1818 (Her.) & in 4/3/1843 (E.I.S.) (resigns from E.I.S. 1861)

Mr Alex Macdonald

appointed 1863 (Gen. Assembly Report) & in 1870 (E.I.S.)

Mr Robert Alexander

in 1889 (Heritors)

MOONZIE - SCHOOLMASTERS

"A schoolmaster" (Cupar Pres. 20/7/1650)

"no salary" (Pres. 23/12/1707) - salary settled by 9/12/1712 (Pres.)

Mr Andrew More

by 3/12/1717 (Pres.) admitted 31/12/1717 (Pres.)

Mr James Thomson

by 1/3/1757 (Pres.) & 15/3/1769 (Pres.)

Mr George Logan

about 1800 (N.S.A.) - resigned December 1850 (Heritors)

Mr Robert Morrison (from Leslie)

25/12/1850 (Heritors) - still there 1880 (Heritors)

NEWBURGH - SCHOOLMASTERS

"A school" by 1526 (see Laing, "Newburgh & its Abbey of Lindores", p.196)

Mr James Leslie M.A.

by 2/9/1611 (Synod) - became Minister of Newburgh 1/10/1622 (Fasti)
David Fairfull (clerk - was he schoolmaster?)

? on 8/6/1641

Mr Andrew Tailyesier

just before 27/11/1658 (K.S.) - demitted 3/5/1657 (K.S.)

Mr Thomas Bousie (from Wemyss)

by 6/12/1657 (& see Wemyss K.S. 24/11/1657) & 2/3/1668 (K.S.) - to Nov.
1669 (by hand)

Mr Robert Bayne

by 17/4/1670 - became Minister of Newburgh 11/4/1672 (K.S.)

Mr James Smart

on 21/5/1678 (K.S.) & on 27/7/1698 & 10/12/1700 (Pres.)

Lawrence Dempster (clerk - was he schoolmaster?)

1/10/1701 (Cuper Pres.)

Mr Francis Scot

nordnated 27/8/1717 (Pres.)

Mr Robert Pearson

- to Kettle (Pres. 4/11/1729)

Mr Robert Tayler

18/8/1730 (Pres.) & in 6/2/1775 (Pres.)

John Wilson

by 6/11/1784 (P.R.); probably from 11/11/1775 by hand in P.R. - "late"
by 19/5/1826 (Heritors)

James Wilson (from Perth G. School)

19/5/1826 (Heritors) - died 4/4/1859 (Heritors)

Thomas Miller (from Perth)

14/7/1859 (Heritors) & 1866 (Westwoods Directory) & 1870 (E.I.S.)

NEWBURN - SCHOOLMASTERS

A school endowed in 1630 (P.R. 25/6/1648)

Mr William Ruell

by 24/8/1645 (P.R.) probably from 1640 (by hand), possibly from 1632 -
to Jan. 1664 (P.R.)

House to be bought for a school (Pres. St. Andrews 29/6/1653)

Woods Mortification 1661

Mr Andrew Leslie (Andro Lesley - Pres. 14/3/1666)

admitted 10/1/1664 (P.R.) - "late schoolmaster" in 20/8/1678 (Pres.)

Mr Robert Lindsay

14/11/1676 (P.R.) & various dates to 25/7/1704 (P.R.)

"no legal schoolmaster, but one who officiates for the time" 4/8/1708 (Pres.)

? Mr John Anderson ("schoolmaster" ? of Newburn)

by 7/8/1712 (P.R.)

Mr Thomas Duncan

by 1715 (see Pres. 24/4/1717) mentioned Pres. 23/2/1740 & 31/8/1748 -
died "mid Feb 1855" (Pres. 4/2/1756)

Mr John Turcan (from Seconie)

4/2/1756 (Pres.)

Mr William Mitchell

by 17/12/1760 (P.R.) - died 6/5/1773 (P.R.)

Mr William Maxwell Wright

5/8/1829 (Pres.)

Mr John Brash

29/11/1848 (Pres.) & in 31/3/1854 (Heritors)

Mr L. R. Lumsden

elected 24/9/1863 w.e.f. 15/5/1863 (Heritors) & in 26/12/1872 (Heritors)

FITZGERALD - SCHOOLMASTERS

- Mr James Weilland
by 21/7/1599 (R.P.C. Vol.IV,p.614)
- Mr James Roull (Ruell)
by 20/2/1623 (Reg.Gt.Seal, Vol.8, p.162) mentioned 12/3/1629 (K.S. in P.R.)
- Mr Walter Anderson
probably by 14/7/1640 (from hand) P.R., mentioned 23/9/1641 (K.S. in P.R.) -
suspended 11/10/1643 (K.S. in P.R.) demitted 7/4/1644 (K.S. in P.R.)
- Mr Alexander Swentome
appointed 6/3/1644 (K.S.) - demitted Whit, 1647 (K.S. 4/10/1646)
- Andre Bryand
entered Whit 1647 (K.S. 4/10/1646) - removed to Dysart 1653 (Dysart B.R.
7/3/1653)
- Mr Patrick Cour(?)ie
appointed 3/5/1653 (K.S.)
- Mr William Hutchesone
appointed 29/11/1657 (see K.S. 10/6/1684)
- Robert Hamilton
appointed 13/4/1663 (B.R.)
- Mr Robert Young
by 6/9/1676 (St.Andrews Pres.) - action by Pres. to have him removed, he not
being licensed; absent in South 6/12/1676 - to remove 23/2/1677 (Pres.)
(Pres.)
- Mr James Halsone (from Anstruther Easter)
temporary teacher in absence of Young in the South 6/12/1676 (Pres.)
- Mr Patrick Lindsay (from Crail)
entered 2/5/1677 (B.R.) - to St.Andrews 18/6/1684 (B.R.)
- Mr William Cannaries (from Anstruther Easter)
appointed 24/6/1684 (K.S.)
- Mr Alex Youngston
appointed 27/2/1619 (B.R.)
- Mr James Maxwell
appointed 7/9/1692 (K.S.) - to 9/6/1697 (K.S.)
- Mr William Wright
appointed 19/6/1697 (B.R.) - 21/4/1699 (B.R.)
- Mr David Stark
appointed 21/4/1699 (B.R.)
- Mr Henry Dewar
- demits before 28/6/1704 (K.S.)
- Mr William Thomson (from Kettle)
appointed 28/6/1704 (K.S.) - demits 26/11/1711 (B.R.)
- Laurence Stodart (Stodhart)
appointed 24/10/1712 (B.R.) - demitted 23/8/1716 (B.R.)
- Mr Andrew Reid
admitted by Pres. 2/1/1717; signs as witness 14/9/1720 (P.R.)
- Mr William Wilson
- demitted w.o.f. Whit 1721, (B.R. 3/4/1721)
- Mr John Anderson (from St. Monance)
appointed 26/4/1721 (B.R.) - died 30/5/1746 (K.S.)
- Daniel McIntyre
appointed 12/12/1746 (K.S.)
- Mr Robert Logan
by 13/12/1758 (Pres.)
- Mr Alexander Gibson
before 15/5/1765 (Pres.) & on 2/1/1772 (Pres.)

PITTENWEEM - SCHOOLMASTERS cont.

Mr John Vessie (Voysey)

by 6/12/1780 (Pres.)

William Dickson

7/2/1827 (Pres.) mentioned on 22/2/1843 (Pres. 1/3/1843)

Alexander Murray

by 27/11/1844 (Pres.) there on 4/9/1869 (Heritors)

PITTENWEEM - DOCTORS

David Ramsay

entered 21/8/1642 (K.S.) mentioned 20/4/1646 (K.S.)

"a doctor"

16/4/1650 (K.S.)

ST. ANDREWS - SCHOOLMASTERS

- Mr James Carmichael
26/3/1570 (Reg. St. A.)
- Mr Patrick Auchinleck
by 21/7/1574 (Reg. St. A.) & 15/12/1575 (R.P.C.)
- Mr Harry Danskin
by 1601 (B.R. - discharges) - died 15/5/1625 (Index of Test. Com. St. A.)
- Mr Patrick Robertson
(mentioned in Lamont, p.)
- Mr George Kilgour
(succeeded Robertson,) (Lamont, p.) - died Feb. 1665 (P.R.)
- Mr Patrick Setoun
- demitted 14/4/1676 (P.R.)
- Mr James Hunter (prob. from Crail: Crail K.S. 13/5/1676)
in 23/12/1680 (B.R.) - demitted 15/5/1684 (B.R.)
- Mr Patrick Lindsay (from Pittenweem)
appointed 15/5/1684 (B.R.) - deposed 24/10/1723 (B.R.)
- Mr James Angus
appointed 26/11/1723 (B.R.) - demitted 19/10/1728 (B.R.) to post in Univ.
St. A.
- Mr John Campbell
appointed 17/9/1729 (St. A. Pres.) - demitted 4/6/1740 (St. A. Pres.)
- Mr Richard Dick
appointed 4/6/1740 (St. A. Pres.) - demitted 23/6/1762 (B.R.)
- Mr John Halket (from Cupar Burgh School)
appointed 23/6/1762 (B.R.) - demitted 17/7/1786 (B.R.)
- Mr Will Dick (from Duns)
appointed 17/7/1786 (B.R.) - resigned (to Perth G.S.) 11/10/1790 (B.R.)
- Mr James Arcole
appointed 6/12/1790 (B.R.) - resigned 11/1/1791 (B.R.)
- Mr James Mowat
appointed 11/1/1791 (B.R.) & in 19/8/1814 (B.R.)
- Mr John Waugh
by 3/6/1815 (B.R.) & in 3/2/1835 (B.R. Accts.)

BELL'S TRUST.

ST. ANDREWS - DOCTORS

Mr Alex Coupar
before 1658 (B.R.)

Mr William Smith
by 16/9/1658 (B.R.)

Mr David Beatt (Precentor)
4/6/1694 (B.R.)

J. Oliphant (Precentor)
- died c.14/4/1714

Francis Gray
10/4/1714 (B.R.) - deposed 16/11/1723 (B.R.)

Will Paterson (English Master)
by Whit 1731 (B.R.&cets.)

Mr James Stewart
by 1/8/1739 (B.R.)

Robert Carstairs
by 10/10/1743 (B.R.) - "late" in 7/10/1745 (B.R.)

Mr Thomas Lyell
Michaelmas 1744 (see B.R. 7/10/1745)

David McIntyre
- demitted by 2/3/1747 (B.R.)

Walter Manuel
23/12/1747(B.R.) - to Sept. 1748 (B.R.)

Mr Philip Morison
28/9/1748 (B.R.)

Mr William Taylor
entered 29/6/1750 (B.R.) - to 1752 (B.R.)

Mr James Adamson
entered 3/7/1752 (B.R.) - demitted 23/12/1754

A second Doctor appointed William Taylor
27/9/1752 (B.R.)

William Stedman
7/3/1754 (B.R.) - died by 27/6/1755 (B.R.)

Mr James Greig
22/7/1755 (B.R.)

John Ewan (2nd Doctor)
20/7/1757 (B.R.)

Robert Stewart
28/11/1760 (B.R.)

Mr Law Douglas
4/3/1763 (B.R.) - demitted 17/5/1764 (B.R.)

Alexander Falconer
17/5/1764 (B.R.)

John Braid
1767 (B.R.) & 25/8/1781 (B.R.)

And. Bell
12/8/1784 (B.R.)

Mr Ireland
by 17/5/1792 (B.R.) & 15/1/1805 (B.R.) Student of Divinity (Dunfermline Pres.

David Christie & John Robertson (2nd Doctor)
19/8/1814 (B.R.) 27/3/1793)

ST. MONANCE - SCHOOLMASTERS

- Mr Robert Macle
by 9/10/1617 (Reg.Gt.Seal)
- Mr James Hunter
by 13/4/1674 (P.R.) - to Crail (Crail K.S. 2/2/1675)
- Mr John Cunningham
- to Crail (R.P.C. 3rd Series, Vol.7) by 16/10/1677 (Crail K.S.)
- Mr John Jackson
by 4/7/1701 (Pres.St.Andrews)
- Mr John Stewart
entered 22/12/1707 (Pres.)
- Mr John Anderson
- to Pittenweem (Pittenweem B.R. 20/4/1721)
- Mr Andrew Webster
- to Crail (doctor) (Crail K.S. 22/5/1735)
- Mr Patrick Belantine (Ballintine)
entered 16/6/1735 (Pres.)
- Mr David Cairns
by 28/5/1739 (P.R.) - to Culross (Dunfermline Pres. 19/2/1746)
- Mr David Marshall
by 24/8/1746 (P.R.) - to Ferry (Ferry Port K.S. 23/7/1756)
- John Keedie
by 8/7/1759 (P.R.) & after 1/11/1761 (P.R.)
- Mr William Thomson
admitted 7/3/1764 (Pres.)
- James Davidson
by Oct. 1736 (P.R.)
- Mr John Kilgour
26/3/1828 (Pres.) - died by 22/3/1832 (Heritors)
- Mr John Nicolson
11/9/1832 w.o.f.Martinmas (Heritors) - resigns 25/10/1861 (Heritors)
- Assistant Mr Forrester
10/8/1848 (Heritors) - resigned end of Feb. 1851 (Her. 1/3/1851)
- Mr Robert Paterson (Assistant)
appointed before 25/10/1861 (Heritors)
- Mr Robert Paterson
elected Schoolmaster 25/10/1861 (Heritors) - resigned 30/12/1865 (Heritors)
- Mr Isaac Niven
elected 31/1/1866 (Heritors) - died 6/2/1911 (tombstone)

SALINE - SCHOOLMASTERS

"ane sufficient schoolmaster"

Dunfermline Pres. 5/8/1657

Mr John Walkand

3/12/1662 (Dunfermline Pres.)

Mr James Robertson

- dismissed 11/12/1695 (Combined Presbyteries of
Dunfermline & Kirkcaldy)

Mr Thomas Thomsone

before Jan. 1704 (K.S.) - dismissed 28/10/1705 (K.S.)

Mr James Gib

appointed 19/11/1705 (K.S.) - demitted 6/11/1709 (K.S.)

Mr David Cree

24/11/1709 (K.S.) - demitted 27/11/1711 (K.S.)

Mr John Geddes

21/12/1711 (K.S.) 12/1/1712 (Dunfermline Pres.) - became Minister of
Culross.

Mr John Mudie

15/7/1719 (Pres.)

Mr Andrew Black

29/11/1721 (Pres.) - (? to Dalgety before 1733)

Mr John Ritchie

appointed 11/2/1736 (Pres.)

Mr Andrew Reid

16/11/1737 (Pres.)

Mr Adam Thomson

1/7/1741 (Pres.)

Mr Ralph McFarlane (from Logie)

17/4/1745 (Pres.)

Mr Mungo Malcolm (from Forgandenny)

from Mart. 1746 (19/11/1746 Pres.) threatened to demit 18/2/1757 (K.S.)

Mr Alexander Gibson

26/3/1762 (K.S.) - went to Carnock 3/9/1777 (Pres.)

Thomas May

14/1/1778 (Pres.)

Mr David Guild

28/7/1784 (Pres.)

Mr William Craich

26/7/1786 (Pres.)

SALINE - SCHOOLMASTERS cont.

David Fergus

7/10/1789 (Pres.) to Sept. 1793 (Heritors)

Lewis Black (from Balquhidder)

21/11/1793 (Heritors)

Mr Peter McEwan

1/1/1801 (Her.)

Mr James McKenzie

31/12/1801 (Her.) - resigned w.e.f. Mart. 1804 (Her. Records 31/7/1804)
re-appointed 26/9/1805 for 2 years ... & in 1810

Mr John Telfer

4/2/1814 (K.S.) - resigned by 8/1/1817 (Her.)

Mr Alexander Robertson (from Beath)

appointed 8/1/1817 (Her.) & 6/5/1844 (K.S.) & in 1866 (Westwoods Directory)
died by April 1868.

Mr James Leitch (from Pinlaws, Leslie)

26/6/1868 (Her.)

Mr Robert Robertson

by 2/8/1877 (K.S.) to 1890 (Her.)

SCOONIE - SCHOOLMASTERS

Mr Robert Black

5/11/1626 (K.S.) 14/8/1643 (Kirkcaldy Pres.) & 19/6/1655 (K.S.)

Mr Robert Low

by 11/10/1677 (P.R. as witness) - to 26/3/1689 (K.S.)

Mr John Dewar (from Monimail)

26/5/1689(K.S.) - left after 30/10/1698

Mr John Marshall

2/6/1700 (K.S.) - to Sept. 1702 (K.S. 11/9/1702)

Mr John Layng

22/11/1702 (K.S.) & 13/11/1707 (Pres.)

Mr James Laing (assistant to Mr J. Blair, Minister)

30/5/1714 (K.S.) "cannot supply both these offices", so

Mr John Lindsay

admitted assistant 14/11/1714 - discharged 8/8/1717 (Pres.)

Mr Alexander Smart

29/10/1718 (K.S.) - died by 5/4/1730 (K.S.)

Mr Alexander Ceres

by 5/7/1730 (Pres.) - became Minister of Abernyte by 29/5/1739 (K.S.)

Mr John Threan

20/5/1739 (K.S.) & 17/10/1758

Mr William Wilson

2/2/1763 (Pres.) - left for Dysart 1764 (Muir, Gleanings.)

James Durie

by 27/8/1764 (K.S.) - died about 1788 (see K.S. 1/9/1798)

Mr William Vessie

about Nov. 1794 (K.S. 1/9/1798) - resigned Whit 1798 (Heritors 14/5/1798)

Mr Richard Moore

by 1/9/1798 (K.S.) - to 11/11/1805 (K.S.)

Mr Robert Young

27/3/1807 (Heritors) - resigned after 3/12/1818 (Her. 28/10/1819)

Mr James Johnstone (from Cleish)

28/10/1819 (Heritors) - deposed by Pres. 10/11/1830 (Heritors)

Mr Thomas Cutler (from Stockbridge)

10/11/1830 (Heritors)

Mr Henry Smith (from Forgan)

16/12/1843 (Forgan K.S.) & in 1847 (E.I.S.)

Andrew Smythe

by 1866 (Westwoods Directory)

TORRYBURN - SCHOOLMASTERS

William Duddingstone

April 1633 (A.S.Cunningham) & 16/6/1644 (K.S.) & 20/5/1656 (Dunfermline Pres.)

Mr James Sibbald

entered as assistant 16/6/1644 (K.S.) & 6/2/1648 (K.S.)

Mr Andro Bryan (Briand) (from Dysart)

entered 6/6/1660 (K.S.) & 29/10/1662 (Pres.)

William Joase

23/9/1663 (Pres.)

John Boware

30/11/1664 (Pres.)

Mr David Lawson (from Dysart)

entered 9/1/1671 (K.S.) & 5/9/1695 (Pres.)

Mr John Thomson

(See Dunfermline Pres. 23/4/1729)

Mr Robert Angus

by 20/4/1698 (Pres.)

"A schoolmaster"

4/3/1708 (Pres.)

Mr David Cree

entered 1711 - demitted Mart. 1723 (Pres. 8/1/1724 & 23/4/1729)

Mr Samuel Black (after legal struggle)

26/12/1724 (Pres.) & 23/4/1729 (Pres.)

Mr John Garmory

31/3/1737 (Pres.)

Mr Andrew Angus

17/10/1744 (Pres.) & 12/7/1759

Mr Alexander Campbell (from Kilmore)

30/9/1778 (Pres.) - deposed 29/3/1786 (Pres.)

Mr James Laing

6/3/1802

Mr George Ewing

- left for Culross 12/12/1816 (Dulross Heritors)

"Schoolmaster appointed"

1853 (Gen.Assembly Reports)

"Schoolmaster appointed"

1861 (Gen.Assembly Reports)

Alex McKay

in 1866 (Westwoods Directory)

WEMYSS - SCHOOLMASTERS

? Mr John Mitchell

"sometime schoolmaster" (Kennoway K.S. Cash Book 1671)

A "reider"

29/5/1640 (Kirkcaldy Pres.)

Adame Blackwood

- retired by 2/5/1648 (K.S.) died by 19/11/1651

Mr Thomas Bousie

by 2/5/1648 (K.S.) - left for Newburgh 24/11/1657 (K.S.)

Mr David Ballingall

1/12/1657 (K.S.) & in 5/5/1676 (P.R. title page)

Mr Thomas Blair (from Lochmaben)

admitted 24/8/1679 (K.S.) - to 10/9/1682 (K.S.)

Mr John Meir

by 11/7/1684 (K.S.) & on 5/3/1691 (Pres.)

Mr John Thomson

by 9/3/1692 (K.S.) - demitted 26/11/1697 (K.S.)

Mr Claud Alexander

26/11/1697 (K.S.) - flees 20/10/1699 (K.S.)

Mr Robert Williamson

- dismissed between 27/5/1705 & 30/5/1705 (K.S.)

Mr Alexander Cowan

appointed 30/5/1705 (K.S.) - demitted on pension 8/8/1749 (K.S.)

Mr John Grub (from private school Dysart)

8/8/1749 (K.S.) - died by 9/8/1755 (K.S.)

Mr Alex Lyon (from Newton, Dalkeith Pres.)

1/12/1755 (K.S.) - died 4/4/1767 (K.S.)

Mr Alexander Mollison

11/11/1767 (K.S.)

Mr Alexander Kirk

4/4/1776 (K.S.) - died by 7/9/1783 (K.S.)

Mr George McLean

7/9/1783 (K.S.) - 17/11/1785 (K.S.)

Mr David Guild (from Saline)

12/11/1785 (K.S.) & on 3/12/1789 (Pres.)

Mr Thomas Fleming

13/12/1795 (K.S.) - resigned between 23/9/1806 & 16/11/1806 (K.S.)

Vacancy of seven months

Mr John Cunnison

14/6/1807 (K.S.) - died between 9/12/1849 & 27/1/1850 (K.S.)

Mr John Gow Robertson

"lately elected" 17/5/1850 (K.S.) & in 1866 (Westwoods Directory)

Appendix 2.

Educational Endowments. (Non-University)

- 1) Queen Anne's Mortification, Dunfermline, described above.
- 2) Dr Bell's, described above. (Madras School, St. Andrews, Madras, Cupar, and 3 "schools in Cupar for the benefit of the industrious".) (1)
- 3) Robert Philp's. Robert Philp of Edenshead left his whole fortune (£70,000 or £80,000) for educating 100 children between six and fifteen, at schools in the parishes of Abbotshall, Dysart, Kinghorn, and Kirkcaldy. The children received free education, free books, and clothing, and on leaving school a grant of £2 to £5 "the better to enable them to begin the world". (2)
- 4) Geddes, Dr. Bill, and Valleyfield endowments in Culross. Dr. Bill died in 1738, and left money to pay for poor scholars. Patrick Geddes erected a school ("The Geddes School") in Culross before 1824. (3)
- 5) Watson of Dunikier, Burntisland. In 1694 John Watson of Dunikier left lands and garden in parish for the behoof of 3 widows (three quarters) and interest on the remainder to be paid to the Master of the Grammar School, for the free education of "children of indigent parents" at the rate of £4 Scots per annum per child in 1694 (and 1s.6d per quarter in 1836). (4)
- 6) Woods Mortification, Drumeldrie (School of Newburn), for building a grammar school in Drumeldrie, and for providing the salary of the schoolmaster and maintenance of 4 poor scholars. Mortification ratified by Parliament in 1661. (5)
- 7) Small Mortifications in Carnock - by Principal Row, worth 5 marks Scots in 1691 (6) - in Crail - by Sir William Myrton, in 1525 (7) - in Greich - by Mr. Alexander Henderson, in 1646, 2,000 marks for "maintenance of ane scholl in town of Luthrie" (8) - in Ceres - Sir Thomas Hope's Mortification (9) - and in Leuchars - Rev. Alexander Henderson, house, garden, croft and 2 acres of land. (10)

1. N.S.A. Cupar. 2. N.S.A. Abbotshall & Kinghorn. 3. MS. Dunfermline Pres. 5/5/1801; N.S.A. Culross, and A.S. Cunningham, "Culross Past and Present", p.62.
4. MS. Burntisland B.R. 17/9/1694; N.S.A. & Burgh Schools Report. 5. Wood, "East Neuk of Fife", p.90. 6. N.S.A. & Webster, Carnock, p.129.
7. Conolly, p.136. 8. MS. Cupar Pres. 27/1/1654 & N.S.A. Greich. 9. MS. Ceres K.S. (in P.R.) 10/7/1631. 10. N.S.A. Leuchars & MS. St. Andrews Pres. 9/10/1700

St Andrew G.S.

